

A N
E S S A Y
O N
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,
T H E
MANNERS, AND SPIRIT
O F
N A T I O N S,

From the Reign of CHARLEMAIGN

To the Age of LEWIS XIV.

Written in French by M. de VOLTAIRE.

Translated into English,

With additional Notes and Chronological Tables,

By Mr. NUGENT.

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E S S A Y

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

MANNERS AND SPIRIT

OF THE



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A N
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Univerfal History,
The MANNERS and SPIRIT of
N A T I O N S.

C H A P. XCVIII.

*The state of Europe at the time of Charles V.
Of Muscovy or Russia. Digression on Lap-
land.*

BEFORE we examine into the state of Europe under Charles the Vth, it will be proper to give a sketch of the governments into which it was divided. We have already beheld the situation of Spain, France, Germany, Italy, and England. We shall make no mention of Turkey, nor of its conquests in Syria and Africa, till we have related the most memorable events that happened among Christians, when following the Portuguese in their voyages and in their military commerce in Asia, we have represented the state of the eastern world.

We shall begin therefore with the Christian kingdoms of the north. The state of Muscovy or
Vol. III. B Russia

Russia had taken some form. This potent empire, which is growing more so every day, had been for a long time only a collectitious multitude of half Christian savages, slaves of the Tartars of Casan, who were the descendants of Tamerlane. The duke of Russia paid a yearly tribute in money, furs, and cattle, to those Tartars. The Custom was for him to bring the tribute on foot to the Tartar ambassador, to prostrate himself before him, to present him with milk to drink, and if any of it fell on the neck of the ambassador's horse, to lick it up. The Muscovites were on the one side slaves of the Tartars, and on the other, hard pressed by the Lithuanians : towards the Ukraine they were likewise exposed to the depredations of the Crim Tartars, successors of the Scythians inhabiting the Taurica Chersonesus, to whom they paid tribute. At length stood up a chief named John Basilides, or son of Basil, a man of courage, who animated the Russians, rescued them from so heavy a bondage, and increased his territories by the accession of Novogorod, and of the city of Moscow which he wrested from the Lithuanians at the end of the fifteenth century. He extended his conquests into Finland, which has often been the bone of contention between Russia and Sweden.

Russia was therefore a great monarchy at that time, but not as yet formidable to Europe. It is said that John Basilides brought back from Moscow three hundred cart-loads of gold, silver, and precious stones. But the history of those rude ages is crowded with fables. At that time the people of Moscow had no money, no more than the Tartars, but what they acquired by plunder : and as they had been long exposed to the depredations of those Tartars, what riches could they possibly have ? In truth they had little more than the necessaries of life. The

The country about Moscow produces good corn, which they sow in May and reap in September. The soil bears some fruit ; and honey is as common there as in Poland. They have always had plenty of black and small cattle : but as their wool is unfit for manufacturing, and the people have no sort of industry, their only cloathing consisted of the skins of beasts. At Moscow there was not so much as a single house, built of stone : their wooden huts were made of the trunks of trees covered with moss. In regard to their manners they lived like brutes, having a confused idea of the Greek church, of which they fancied themselves members. Their priests buried them with a note for St. Peter and St. Nicholas, which they put into the hand of the deceased. This was their principal act of religion ; but beyond Moscow towards the north-east, the inhabitants of almost all the villages were idolaters.

After the reign of John Basilides the Czars grew rich, especially when another John Basilides had taken Casan and Astracan from the Tartars in 1551 : but the subjects of Russia still continued poor ; for as those absolute sovereigns had engrossed almost the whole trade of the empire to themselves, and raised exactions on those who had gained something to live upon, they soon accumulated treasures, and on public days of festivity displayed even an Asiatic magnificence. They traded to Constantinople by the Black sea and to Poland by Novogorod. They had it therefore in their power to civilize their dominions, but the time was not yet come. The northern part of their empire beyond Moscow consisted of vast deserts, and a few huts of savages. They did not even know that such an immense tract of land as Siberia existed. This country was discovered under John Basilowitz by a Cossack,

sack, who conquered it, as Cortez conquered Mexico, with a few fire arms.

The Czars concerned themselves but very little in the affairs of Europe, except in some wars against Sweden in regard to Finland. The Muscovites never stirred out of their own country; nor had they any sort of trade by sea. Even the port of Archangel was at that time as little known as those of America: it was not discovered till the year 1553, when the English went in search of new lands towards the north after the example of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, who had made so many new settlements south, east, and west. They were obliged to sail round cape North at the extremity of Lapland. Experience has shewn that there are countries where for near five months the sun does not appear above the horizon. The intire crew of two ships perished with cold and misery in those countries: a third under captain Chancellor, reached the port of Archangel on the Dwina, the banks of which were inhabited by savages. Chancellor went up by the Dwina as far as Moscow. From that time the English have been almost the intire masters of the trade of Russia, whose valuable furs have greatly contributed to enrich England. This is likewise a branch of trade, of which the Venetians were stripped. Their republic had heretofore had factories, and even a town on the banks of the river Don; but since that time she has carried on this fur trade by the way of Constantinople. Whoever improves in the reading of history, will perceive that commerce has gone thro' almost as many revolutions, as the government of empires.

Little did they imagine in those days that the time would come when a Russian prince should found a new capital at the extremity of the gulph of Finland, where every year about two hundred
foreign

foreign vessels unload their goods ; or that from thence armies should march, to make kings in Poland, to assist the German empire against France, to invade Crim Tartary, and to dismember Sweden.

At that time they began to be better acquainted with Lapland, of which the Danes and the Russians, and even the Swedes themselves had hitherto but very imperfect ideas. This vast tract of land situated near the Pole is mentioned by Strabo under the name of the country of the *Trog-iodites**, and the northern *Pygmies*. We are now convinced that the *Pygmean* race is not a fable. It is probable that the southern *Pygmies* are extinct, and that their neighbours destroyed them. Thus several species of men may have been lost, like several species of animals. The Laplanders do not seem to resemble their neighbours : in Norway, for instance, the men are tall and well built, while in Lapland they are not above four feet and a half high. Besides, their eyes, their nose, are of a different make from those of the several nations that border on their deserts. They seem to be a particular species formed for the climate they inhabit ; a climate which they are fond of, and they only can be fond of. One would think that nature, which has produced the rein deer in no other country but this, had likewise been singular in the production of this breed of men ; and as the rein deer does not seem to have come from any other part of the world, neither do the Laplanders. For it is not in the least probable, that the natives of a better country should travel over frozen lakes and dreary

* A people of Ethiopia who are said to have lived in caves under ground ; so called from *τρύγλη* a cave and *δύω* to penetrate.

deserts, to transplant themselves to so barren a spot. A single family may be shipwrecked upon an uninhabited island, and propagate there in time; but it is not natural that people upon the continent should quit a country that produced the conveniences of life, to settle at an immense distance upon rocks covered with moss, and where their only food is the milk of rein deer, and fish. Besides if the Norwegians, or the Swedes had made a transmigration to Lapland, would they have entirely changed their shape and figure? How comes it that the natives of Iceland, who live as far north as the Laplanders, should be a tall people, and the Laplanders not only of a low size, but of quite a different make? We may conclude therefore, that a new species of men was found in this part of the globe; at the same time that so many other different species were discovered in Asia and America. The sphere of nature began to enlarge it self on all sides; and it is in this view only that Lapland merits our attention.

I shall say nothing of Iceland, the Thule of the antients, nor of Greenland, nor of the several tracts of land bordering on the Pole, whither the hopes of discovering a passage to America has often carried our navigators. The knowledge of those countries is as barren as themselves; and therefore makes no part of the political plan of the world.

Of P O L A N D.

POLAND having long preserved the Sarmatian manners, began to be respected by Germany, since the family of the Jagellons sat on the throne. The time was past, when the kings of this country were appointed by the emperors, to whom they likewise paid tribute.

The

The first of the Jagellons was elected king of this republic in 1382. He was duke of Lithuania; but both the subjects of his dutchy and himself were idolaters, and so were the inhabitants of several palatinates. He promised to embrace Christianity, and to incorporate Lithuania with Poland; and on these conditions he was chosen king.

This Jagellon took the name of Ladislaus, and was father of that unfortunate Ladislaus king of Hungary and Poland, who though born with qualities fit to render him one of the most potent kings in the world, was defeated and slain in 1444, at the battle of Varna: this battle cardinal Julian persuaded him to fight against the Turks, notwithstanding the oath he had sworn; as we have already related.

The two great enemies of Poland were for a long time the Turks, and the knights of the Teutonic order. The latter having formed themselves into a military body during the crusades, and meeting with no success against the Mahometans, turned their arms against the idolaters and against the Christians of Prussia, a province then belonging to Poland.

In the reign of king Casimir in the fifteenth century, these religious knights for a long time waged war against Poland; at length it was agreed to let them have a share of Prussia, on condition that the grand master should pay homage to the crown, and become a palatine in order to have a seat in the diet.

At that time none but those palatines had a vote in the states of the kingdom; but Casimir called in the deputies of the nobility towards the year 1460; and ever since they have preserved this right.

The nobles had also another privilege, in common with the palatines, that of not being confined

for any crime, till they were jüridically convicted. This indeed was the privilege of impunity. They had also the power of life and death over their peasants: they might safely kill one of those bondmen, provided they put ten crowns on the grave; and when a noble Polander slew a peasant belonging to another nobleman, by the law of honour he was obliged to let him have another in his stead. But what is most mortifying to human nature, is, that such a privilege should subsist to this very day.

Sigismond of the Jagellon race, who died in 1548, was cotemporary of Charles V. and esteemed a great prince. The Poles in his time were often at war with the Muscovites, and with the Teutonic knights, whose grand master was Albert of Brandenburg. But war was all that the Polanders knew, without understanding the art itself, which was daily improving in the southern parts of Europe. They fought without discipline, and had no fortified towns: the principal strength of their armies consisted then, as it does still, in their cavalry.

They neglected commerce; nor had they discovered till the thirteenth century those salt pits of Cracow, which contribute so greatly to enrich the country. The trade of corn and salt was left to Jews and to foreigners, who soon grew rich thro' the proud indolence of the nobles, and the slavery of the people. There were already above two hundred synagogues in Poland.

This administration on the one hand was an image of the antient government of the Franks, of the Muscovites, and of the Huns: and on the other it resembled that of the antient Romans, inasmuch as each of the nobles has the right of the tribunes of the people, to oppose the decrees of the senate by a single word, *Veto*. This power
being

being extended to every gentleman, and carried so far as to annul by a single vote the collective suffrages of the republic, is become the privilege of anarchy. The Roman tribune was a magistrate of the people: and the Polish gentleman is only a member, or subject of the state. The privilege of this member is to disturb the whole body. But so greatly is self-love flattered by this privilege, that whosoever would propose the abrogation of this custom to the diet, would be surely cut in pieces.

There was no other title then in Poland but that of nobleman, the same as in Denmark, Sweden, and all over the north: the appellations of Duke and Count are recent. These are an imitation of the customs of Germany, but they confer no power. All the nobility are equal. The palatines after depriving the common people of their liberty, were employed in defending their own against the encroachments of the regal power. Though the line of the Jagellons had for a long time sat on the throne; yet those princes were never absolute: nor were they kings by hereditary right; they were always chosen as the chiefs, but not as the masters of the state. The oath which they took at their coronation, contained in express terms, that they desired the nation to depose them, if ever they violated the laws they had sworn to observe.

It was not however an easy matter to secure this right, while they permitted the same family to continue on the throne. But as their kings have no fortresses, nor the disposing of the public monies, nor the command of the armies, their liberty has been hitherto preserved. The nation allowed the king only about twelve hundred thousand livres annually to support his dignity. The king of Sweden has not so much. The emperor

has nothing at all; he is at his own expence, *the head of the Christian world, caput orbis Christiani*, while the isle of Great-Britain grants about twenty three millions of livres to her king for his civil list. The sale of the royal dignity is the principal source of the money that circulates in Poland. The capitation of the Jews, which forms a considerable part of the revenue, does not amount to above a hundred and twenty thousand florins.

In regard to their laws, they had none written in their native language till 1552. The nobles being all upon an equality, acted according to the resolutions of their diets, which are the only law to this day; and the rest of the nation never so much as inquire into what is resolved. As those landholders are lords of all, and the tillers are but slaves, it is they that likewise are possessed of all church preferments. The same practice obtains also in Germany: but in Poland it is an express and general law; whereas in Germany it is only an established custom, a custom too contrary to the spirit of Christianity, though agreeable to the Germanic constitution. Rome is differently governed, and has had this advantage ever since its kings and consuls down to the Pontifical monarchy, to debar no person of merit from aspiring to the highest preferments.

Of Sweden and Denmark.

THE kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway were elective, like Poland. The peasants and artificers were slaves in Denmark and in Norway; but in Sweden they had a seat in the diet of the kingdom, and gave their votes for regulating the taxes. Never had neighbouring nations a more violent antipathy against each other, than the Swedes and Danes; and yet these

these people became subject to one government by the famous union of Calmar at the end of the fourteenth century.

Albert king of Sweden having attempted to usurp one third of the farms of the kingdom, his subjects revolted. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark, who was called the *Semiramis of the North*, took an advantage of those troubles, and caused herself to be acknowledged in 1395, queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Two years afterwards she united the three kingdoms, and it was decreed that they should be always governed by the same sovereign.

When we recall to mind that formerly a parcel of Danish pirates had carried their victorious arms almost over all Europe, and conquered England and Normandy; when afterwards we behold Sweden, Norway, and Denmark united under one government, without becoming formidable to their neighbours; it evidently appears that conquests are never made, but where the country has the misfortune of a bad government. The Hanse towns alone, Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzick, Rostock, Luneburg, Wismar, were able to resist those three kingdoms, because they had more wealth. Even the city of Lubeck waged war by itself against the successors of Margaret of Waldemar. This union of the three kingdoms, which seem so striking at first sight, was the cause of their misfortunes.

The kingdom of Sweden had one primate, *viz.* the archbishop of Upsal, and six bishops, who were possessed of very near the same authority as most of the clergy had acquired in Germany and in other countries. The archbishop of Upsal in particular, was, like the primate of Poland, the second person in the kingdom. Whosoever is the second wants generally to be the first.

Its

It happened in 1448, that the states of Sweden, tired with the Danish yoke, unanimously chose the great marshal Charles Canutson for their king.

But being equally tired of the episcopal yoke, they ordered an inquiry to be made into the estates, which the church had usurped in the times of confusion. The archbishop of Upsal, whose name was John of Salstad, assisted by the six Swedish bishops, and the rest of the clergy, excommunicated the king and the senate at high mass; after which they laid their vestments on the altar, and putting on a cuirass and a sword, they went out of the church and commenced a civil war. This lasted seven years: during the whole time there was nothing but a bloody anarchy, and struggle between the Swedes, who wanted to have an independent king, and the Danes, who had generally the advantage in the field. The clergy at one time in arms for their country, and another time against her, continued to excommunicate, to fight, and to plunder.

At length the Swedes were forced to submit to the Danes under John, son of Christian I. king of Denmark; but upon their taking up arms afterwards, John made his senate in Denmark pass a decree against the senate of Sweden, by which the latter were condemned to lose their nobility and their estates. But what is very extraordinary, he caused this decree to be confirmed by the emperor

Maximilian, who wrote to the states of 1505. Sweden, *That they should obey, otherwise he would proceed against them according to the laws of the empire.* I know not how the abbé de Vertot in his revolutions of Sweden could forget a fact of such importance, so carefully preserved by Puffendorff.

By

By this it appears that the German emperors, as well as the popes, have always pretended to universal jurisdiction. It appears also that the king of Denmark wanted to flatter Maximilian, whose daughter he obtained for his son Christian II. This is the way that rights are established. The chancery of Maximilian wrote to the Swedes, just as that of Charlemaign would have wrote to the people of Benevento or Guienne. But they wanted the armies and the power of Charlemaign.

This Christian II. took very different measures after the death of his father. Instead of applying to the Imperial chamber for a decree, he obtained a supply of four thousand men of Francis I. king of France. The French till that time had never concerned themselves in the quarrels of the North. In all probability, as Francis I. then aspired to the empire, he was desirous of being supported in his pretensions by Denmark. The French troops fought in Sweden under Christian; but they were very ill requited, having been discharged without pay, and pursued in their return by the peasants of the country, so that not above three hundred men returned to France; the ordinary fate of expeditions into remote countries.

We shall see under the article of Lutheranism the tyranny of this Christian. One of his crimes was the cause of his losing three kingdoms. He had just concluded an agreement with an administrator created by the states of Sweden, whose name was Steno Stur. It seems that Christian was not so much afraid of this administrator, as of Gustavus Vasa, the young nephew of king Canutson, a prince of enterprising courage, in short the hero and the idol of Sweden. He pretended to want to have a conference with the administrator in Stockholm, and desired that young Gustavus and
six

six other hostages should be sent on board his fleet, which was at anchor in the road.

Scarce were they arrived when he ordered them to be put in irons, and set sail for Denmark with his prey. Thus was the signal given for open war. Rome concerned herself in the quarrel: what induced her to act in this manner, and how she found herself in the end mistaken, I shall briefly relate.

Troll, archbishop of Upsal (whose cruelties shall be taken notice of when I come to speak of Lutheranism) notwithstanding his having been elected by the clergy, his having been confirmed by Leo X. and his being closely connected with Christian in interest, was deposed by the states of Sweden in 1517, and condemned to do penance in a monastery. The states were excommunicated by the pope according to the usual stile, but this excommunication, which of itself signified nothing, was rendered very considerable by Christian's arms.

At that time resided in Denmark a legate from the pope, named Arcemboldi, who had sold indulgences throughout the three kingdoms. Such was his artifice, and such the stupidity of the people, that he had squeezed near two millions of florins out of the poorest country in Europe. He was going to send the money to Rome when Christian laid hold of it, in order, he said, to carry on the war against his excommunicated subjects. He succeeded: consequently he was acknowledged king, and the archbishop Troll was restored. 'Tis after this restoration that the king and his primate gave that horrid feast in Stockholm, at which they caused the whole senate and a multitude of citizens to be massacred. In the mean time Gustavus had escaped out of prison, and returned to Sweden. He was obliged to

to hide himself for some time in the mountains of Dalecarlia, disguised in a peasant's habit: he even worked at the mines, either for his subsistence, or in order to be concealed. But at length he made himself known to those savage men, who detested tyranny so much the more, as their simple manners estranged them from all kind of policy. They followed him; and Gustavus quickly saw himself at the head of an army. The use of fire-arms was not yet known to those rough peasants; nor were even the rest of the Swedes well acquainted with them: this is what always had given the Danes the superiority. But Gustavus having purchased some muskets at Lubeck upon his own credit, his people learned to fight upon equal terms.

Lubeck not only furnished him with arms, but likewise with troops, without which he would have found it very difficult to succeed. Thus the fate of Sweden depended on a little trading town. Christian was at that time in Denmark; so that the archbishop of Upsal bore the whole weight of the War against Sweden's deliverer. At length, contrary to custom, fortune declared in favour of justice; Gustavus, after some unlucky skirmishes, defeated the tyrant's generals, and made himself master of part of the country.

Christian was transported with rage, and 1521. having had the mother and sister of Gustavus a long time in his power at Copenhagen, he did an act which, even after what has been above related of him, is so very atrocious as almost to exceed belief: he ordered those two princesses to be sown into a sack, and thrown into the sea.

The tyrant could indulge his revenge, but did not know how to fight: he could murder innocent women, but he durst not go over to Sweden
to

to oppose Gustavus in person. In short, having behaved with as much cruelty towards the Danes his subjects as towards his enemies, he soon became as detestable to the people of Copenhagen as to the Swedes.

The Danes were then possessed of the right of electing their kings, and had also that of punishing a tyrant. The first who threw off their allegiance were the inhabitants of Jutland, that is, of the dutchy of Sleswick. His uncle Frederick, duke of Holstein, availed himself of the just resistance of the people; whose rights being maintained by arms, all the inhabitants of that tract of land which formerly constituted the Chersonesus Cimbrica, transmitted to the tyrant the act of his deposition by the first magistrate of Jutland.

This intrepid magistrate dared to present the sentence of deposition to Christian himself in the city of Copenhagen. The tyrant perceiving the rest of the state in commotion, being likewise hated by his officers, and grown distrustful of every body, received like a criminal in his own palace the decree presented to him by a single man unarmed. It is fit posterity should know the name of this magistrate, which was *Mons. My name*, said he, *ought to be written over the palace gates of all wicked princes*. Denmark obeyed the decree; and never was there an instance of so just so sudden and quiet a revolution. The king abdicated 1523. and the government by his precipitate flight; for he retired to Flanders, which was subject to his brother-in-law Charles V. whom he had long solicited for succours.

His uncle Frederick was chosen king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden at Copenhagen; but he was only titular king of Sweden. Gustavus Vasa had about the same time made himself master

ster of Stockholm, where he was elected king by the Swedes, and shewed himself the defender as he had been the deliverer of the kingdom. After some years had passed, Christian with his archbishop Troll, who was strolling about like himself, made an attempt to recover part of his dominions. He had some hopes of being joined by the male-contents, of which there are always some in every new reign: there were some in Denmark, and others in Sweden; with whom he went over to Norway. Gustavus had changed the religion of the Swedes; and Frederick permitted the Danes to change theirs. Christian declared himself a good catholick; but as this did not make him a better prince, nor a better general, nor more beloved, his expedition proved unsuccessful.

Being soon deserted by all the world, he suffered himself to be carried to Denmark in 1532, where he ended his days in prison. The restless ambition of archbishop Troll, having armed the city of Lubeck against Denmark, he died more gloriously than Christian, of the wounds he received in an engagement, though both deserved a more tragical end.

Gustavus, the deliverer of his country, enjoyed the crown the rest of his days in quiet. He was the first who made foreign nations sensible of the weight which Sweden might have in the affairs of Europe, at a time when European policy was putting on a new face, and when first the notion was started of establishing a ballance of power.

Francis I. concluded an alliance with Gustavus, and though the latter was a Lutheran, he sent him the collar of his order in spite of the statutes. The king of Sweden made it his study the remainder of his days to regulate the state. It required the full exertion of his prudence to hinder the religion which

he had exploded, from giving disturbance to his government. The Dalecarlians, who were the first that helped him to ascend the throne, were the first that molested him on this account. The rusticity of their manners had greatly attached them to the antient usages of their church; they were catholics only as they were barbarians, by birth and by education. We may form a judgment of this from a petition which they presented to him: they desired the king not to wear short clothes after the French fashion, and that whosoever eat flesh on Fridays should be burnt. This was almost the whole distinction they made between Catholics and Lutherans.

The king suppressed all those commotions, and artfully established the new religion by preserving the hierarchy, only retrenching the revenues and power of the bishops. The antient laws of the kingdom were respected: he caused his son Eric * to be declared his successor in 1544: and he even obtained that the crown should be continued in his family, on condition that if it ever happened to be extinct, the states might resume their right of election; and that if only a female was left, she should have her dower without pretending to the crown.

Such was the situation of affairs in the north at the time of Charles V. The manners of the people were simple but austere; they were only less virtuous, and more ignorant. The titles of count, marquis, baron, knight, and most of the symbols of vanity, had not yet reached the Swedes, no more than the Danes: but the useful inventions were also unknown to them: They had no regular commerce, no manufactures. It was Gusta-

* Voltaire by mistake says Frederick. See Puffendorf and Holberg.

vus Vasa who first drew the Swedes out of obscurity, and who likewise encouraged the Danes by his example.

Of Hungary.

HUNGARY had just the same form of government as Poland. The kings were elected at the diet: the palatine of Hungary had the same authority as the primate of Poland; and moreover he was judge between the kings and the nation. Such had been heretofore the power or the right of the Palatine of the empire, of the Mayor of the palace in France, and of the Justice of Arragon. We find in all monarchies that the royal authority was limited in the beginning.

The nobles had the same privileges as in Poland, I mean that of going unpunished, and of doing what they pleased with their bondmen: the common people were slaves. The strength of the kingdom consisted in cavalry, composed of the nobles and their retinue: the infantry was a crowd of undisciplined peasants, who used to fight only between sowing time and harvest.

It may be remembered that Hungary embraced Christianity towards the year 1000. Stephen, the Hungarian chief, desirous of the regal dignity made use of force and of religion to obtain his end. Pope Sylvester II. gave him the title of king and even of apostolic king. Some authors pretend that it was John XVIII. or XIX. who conferred both those honours on Stephen in 1003. or 1004. But discussions of this kind are not my business: it is sufficient for me to consider that the popes, in consequence of their having given this title in a bull, laid claim to a tribute from Hungary; and that in virtue of the word *apostolic*, the kings of Hungary pretended to dispose of all the benefices of the kingdom.

Thus

Thus we see that there are prejudices by which kings and intire nations are governed. The chief of a warlike nation would not presume to take the title of king, without the pope's permission. This kingdom, as well as that of Poland, were governed on the same plan as the German empire : and yet the kings of Poland and Hungary, though they made counts, never dared to create dukes ; and so far from taking the title of *majesty*, they were only called *your excellency*.

The emperor looked upon Hungary as a fief of the empire ; and indeed Conrad *the Salic*, had received homage and tribute of king Peter. On the other hand, the popes maintained that they ought to have the disposing of this crown, because they were the first who conferred the title of king on the chief of the Hungarian nation.

Here we must go back a little to the time when the house of France, which heretofore supplied Portugal, England, and Naples with kings, saw likewise her princes seated on the throne of Hungary.

The throne being vacant towards the year 1290. the emperor Rodolphus of Habsburgh granted the investiture of it to his son Albert of Austria, as if it had been an ordinary fief. On the other hand, pope Nicholas IV. gave the kingdom away as a benefice, to the grandson of the famous Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, and king of Naples and Sicily. This nephew of St. Lewis was called Charles Martel, and he pretended to the kingdom because his mother, Mary of Hungary, was sister to the late king. Among a free people, the being related to their kings gives no title to the crown. The Hungarians chose neither the person named by the emperor, nor him appointed by the pope ; but Andrew surnamed the Venetian, from having been married at Venice, a prince of the blood royal.

Excommu-

Excommunications and wars ensued; but after his death and that of his competitor Charles Martel, the decrees of the court of Rome were carried into execution.

Boniface VIII. enjoyed the honour in 1303. of seeing the cause of the house of Anjou pleaded at the court of Rome, four months before he is said to have died of grief, because of the affront done him by the king of France. Mary, queen of Naples, harangued before the consistory; and Boniface gave Hungary away to prince Carobert, son of Charles Martel, and this Mary's grandson.

Carobert was therefore, in reality, king by the grace of the pope, and supported by his party and by his sword. In his reign Hungary grew more powerful than the emperor, who con- 1308. sidered it as a fief. Carobert re-united Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia, provinces which in a series of years had been dismembered from the crown.

Lewis, the son of Carobert, and brother of Andrew of Hungary, who was strangled by the orders of Jane his wife queen of Naples, greatly increased the power of the Hungarians. He undertook an expedition to the kingdom of Naples to revenge the murder of his brother. He assisted Charles of Durazzo in dethroning queen Jane; but had no concern with Durazzo in putting that princess to a cruel death. At his return to Hungary he acquired real glory, for he was a lover of justice, and enacted wise laws; he abolished the trials of red hot iron and boiling water, which obtained credit in proportion to the ignorance of the people.

It is observable that there has been scarce ever a great man, who was not a lover of letters. This prince cultivated geometry and astronomy; he protected likewise the other arts. To this philosophical

sophical spirit, so rare at that time, we must attribute the suppression of those superstitious customs. In those climates a king, that understood sound reason, was a prodigy. His valour equalled his other great qualities: he was beloved by his people, and admired by strangers. Towards the latter end of his days the Poles chose him for their king, which was in 1370: he reigned happily forty years in Hungary, and twelve in Poland. The people gave him the title of *great*, which he really deserved: and yet he is scarce known in Europe; because those over whom he reigned, did not know how to transmit his glory to future ages. How few are they who know that in the fourteenth century, there was a *Lewis the great* towards the mountains of Krapack?

So greatly was his memory beloved, that the states chose his daughter Mary in 1382, though she was not yet marriageable; and called her *King Mary*, a title which they have renewed in our days for the daughter of the last emperor of the house of Austria.

Hence we see that if on one hand the people under hereditary governments have reason to complain of the abuses of arbitrary power; on the other, elective states are subject to more violent tempests; and that even liberty itself, that sacred privilege of nature, has been productive of great calamities. The young *King Mary* was governed by her mother Elizabeth of Bosnia. The lords dissatisfied with Elizabeth's administration, made use of their right to put the crown on another head, by giving it to Charles of Durazzo, surnamed the *little*, descended in the right line from the brother of St. Lewis, who was king of the two Sicilies. Accordingly he set out from Naples, and arrived at Buda, where he was solemnly crowned in

in 1386. and acknowledged as king even by Elizabeth herself. 1386.

We are now come to one of those extraordinary events on which the laws are silent, and which leave it a moot-point whether to punish some particular crimes is not a crime itself.

Elizabeth and her daughter Mary, after having lived in as much harmony as was possible with the man who possessed their crown, invite him to an entertainment, where they cause him to be assassinated in their presence. Their partisans immediately stir up the people in their favour, and the young *King Mary*, still under the direction of her mother, re-ascends the throne. 1386.

Some time after this, Elizabeth and Mary making a tour through lower Hungary, imprudently crossed the lands of the count of Hornac, ban of Croatia. This ban was what they call in Hungary a supreme count, chief commander of army, and administrator of justice: besides, he was particularly attached to the person of the murdered king. Was it lawful for him to revenge the king's death or not? He did not deliberate at all about it; though in the cruelty of his revenge he seemed to act only out of regard to justice. He brings the two queens to their trial, condemns Elizabeth to be drowned, and Mary, as the least guilty, to imprisonment.

At this very time Sigismond, afterwards emperor, arrived in Hungary, with an intent to marry queen Mary. The ban of Croatia was not afraid to bring that very queen to him, whose mother he had caused to be drowned. It seems that he only thought he had done an act of strict justice; yet Sigismond ordered his flesh to be torn off with red hot pincers, till he expired under the torment. His death caused the Hungarian

garian nobility to rise up in arms ; so that this whole reign was one continued series of troubles and factions.

It is possible to have large dominions, and yet not be a powerful prince. This Sigismund was at the same time emperor, king of Bohemia, and of Hungary : but in Hungary he was beaten by the Turks, and once imprisoned by his rebellious subjects ; in Bohemia he was almost continually at war with the Hussites ; while in the empire his authority was generally counter-balanced by the privileges of the princes and imperial cities.

Albert of Austria, son-in-law of Sigismund, was the first prince of the house of Austria that reigned in Hungary.

Like Sigismund, he was emperor and king of Bohemia, but he enjoyed the crown only three years. The shortness of this reign was the source of the intestine divisions, which, together with the irruptions of the Turks, have depopulated Hungary, and made it one of the most unfortunate countries upon the face of the earth.

The Hungarians still insisting on their liberty of election, refused the crown to a child, whom Albert of Austria left behind him : at length they chose Uladislaus, or Ladislaus, king of Poland, who in 1444, as has been already mentioned, lost the battle of Varna together with his life.

Frederick III. of Austria, emperor of Germany in 1440. took the title of king of Hungary, but never enjoyed the sovereignty. He had the care of the son of Albert of Austria, whom I shall call Ladislaus Albert, to distinguish him from others of that name ; while the celebrated John Hunniades was making head in Hungary against Mahomet II. conqueror of so many countries. This

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John Hunniades was not king, but a general careſſed by a free and warlike nation; and no king was as abſolute as he.

After his death the crown of Hungary came to the houſe of Auſtria; for this Ladislaus Albert was elected. He put to death, by the hands of the common executioner, one of the ſons of the famous John Hunniades, the defender of his country. But among a free people tyranny never goes unpunished. Ladislaus Albert of Auſtria was caſt from a throne which had been ſtained with ſuch noble blood, and in puniſhment for his cruelty he ended his days in exile.

There ſtill remained a ſon of the great Hunniades, which was Matthias Corvinus, whom the Hungarians reſcued by dint of money out of the hands of the houſe of Auſtria. This prince waged war both againſt the emperor Frederick III. from whom he took Auſtria, and againſt the Turks, whom he drove out of upper Hungary.

After his deceaſe, which happened in 1490, the houſe of Auſtria ſtill wanted to add Hungary to her other dominions. The emperor Maximilian recovered Vienna, but could not obtain poſſeſſion of this kingdom: it was given to a king of Bohemia, named alſo Ladislaus, whom I ſhall call Ladislaus of Bohemia.

While the Hungarians thus elected their kings, they always limited their authority after the example of the nobles in Poland, and of the electors of the empire. But it muſt be confeſſed that the Hungarian nobility were petty tyrants, who would not be tyraniſed themſelves. Their liberty was a fatal independency, and they had reduced the reſt of the nation to ſo miſerable a ſervitude, that the peaſants roſe up in a body againſt their maſters for their too great ſeverity. This civil war laſted four years, and contributed to weaken that unhappy kingdom.

The nobles being better armed than the peasants, and having likewise all the money in their possession, gained at length the upper hand; and the war concluded with rivetting the chains of the common people, who are still in a state of bondage under their lords.

A country that had been ravaged for so many years, and where on the one hand the peasants were enslaved and dissatisfied, and on the other their lords were almost always divided, such a country, I say, was not long able of itself to withstand the power of the Turkish empire. Hence it is that when the young king Lewis II. son of the above-mentioned Ladislaus of Bohemia, and brother-in-law to the emperor Charles V. endeavoured to oppose the arms of Solyman, the whole kingdom of Hungary could not in that urgent necessity furnish him with an army of thirty thousand fighting men. A cordelier, named *Tomoré*, was general of this army, in which there were five bishops: this man promised king Lewis that he should obtain the victory; but the king was killed, and the army destroyed at the famous battle of Mohats, in 1526. After this success Solyman scoured this whole unhappy kingdom with his armies, and carried off above two hundred thousand captives.

In vain has nature blessed this kingdom with mines of gold, and with the real treasures of corn and wine; in vain has she favoured the inhabitants with strength of constitution, and with quick understanding: still the face of the country exhibited nothing but a vast desert, but ruinous towns, but fields, which the husbandmen tilled with the sword in one hand; but villages dug under ground where the inhabitants buried themselves with their corn and cattle; in fine, but a hundred fortified castles, the possessors of which disputed their independency with the Turks and with the Germans.

There

There were a great many fine countries besides in Europe that lay waste, such as the half of Dalmatia, the northern parts of Poland, the borders of the Tanais, and the fruitful province of the Ukraine; while adventurers were going in search of new lands to the utmost confines of the antient world.

Of Scotland.

IN this short sketch of the political government of the north I ought not to forget Scotland, of which I shall speak more at large when I come to treat of religion.

Scotland was concerned more than the rest of the north in the system of Europe, because the Scotch had been a long time allied with France from the enmity they bore to the English, who wanted to lord it over them. The kings of France were not at a great expence to put the Scotch troops in motion: we find that Francis I. sent no more than thirty thousand crowns (which is about one hundred and thirty thousand livres) to the party which, in 1543, had undertaken to declare war against England. And indeed Scotland is so poor a country, that even now, though united to England, it does not contribute more than the fortieth part towards the support of the government.

Whensoever a poor country borders upon a wealthy state, in process of time it becomes subject to bribery and corruption. While this kingdom scorned to be venal, it was formidable. The English, who had made so easy a conquest of Ireland under Henry II. could never establish their dominion in Scotland: it was subdued indeed by that great general and able politician Edward III. but he could not keep it. There has been ever such an enmity and jealousy between the Scotch and the English, as that which, at present subsists between the Spaniards

niards and the Portuguese. The house of Stuarts sat upon the throne of Scotland ever since 1370; but never was there a more unfortunate family. James I. after having been eighteen years a prisoner in England, was assassinated by his subjects in 1437. James II. was killed in an unlucky expedition to Roxburgh, at the age of twenty-nine. James III. was not yet thirty-five years old when he was slain by his own subjects in a pitched battle. James IV. son-in-law of Henry VII. king of England, perished in 1513, at the age of thirty nine, in an engagement with the English, after a very unfortunate reign. James V. died at thirty, in the very flower of his age, in 1542.

We shall see the daughter of James V. more unfortunate than all her predecessors, increasing the list of queens that ended their days by the hands of a common executioner. Her son James VI. king of Scotland, England, and Ireland, by his weakness laid the foundation of those revolutions which brought his son Charles I. to the scaffold, which drove his other son James VII. into an indolent banishment, and which still keep this unhappy wandering family far from their native country. The least unfortunate period of this house was during the reigns of Charles V. and of Francis I. when James V. father of Mary queen of Scots, sat on the throne of Scotland, and when after his decease his widow, Mary of Lorrain, mother of Mary Stuart, was intrusted with the regency of the kingdom. The distractions of that country did not commence till under the regency of this Mary of Lorrain; and religion, as we shall see hereafter, was the first pretext.

I shall not extend this view of the kingdoms of the north any further into the sixteenth century. I have already shewn how Germany, England, France, Italy, and Spain, were situated in respect to each other.

other. Thus a preliminary idea has been given of the interests of the northern and southern powers. We have only to explain more particularly the situation of affairs in the empire.

C H A P. XCIX.

Of Germany and the empire.

THE name of the western empire still subsisted : it had been long no more than an onerous title ; which plainly appeared, when that ambitious prince Edward III. king of England, to whom it was offered by the electors in 1348, refused to accept of it. Charles IV. though considered as the legislator of the empire, yet could not prevail on pope Innocent VI. and the Roman barons, to suffer him to be crowned emperor at Rome, except on condition that he would not lie in that city. His famous *golden bull* remedied, in some measure, the anarchy of Germany. The number of the electors was fixed by this constitution, which was looked upon as a fundamental law, though it has been since altered. In his time the Imperial cities had a deliberative voice at the diets. The towns of Lombardy were really free ; and the empire had only some particular rights over them. The lords continued to be sovereigns upon their lands in Germany and in Lombardy, during the following reigns.

The reigns of Wenceslaus, Robert, Joffe, and Sigismond, were times of darkness, in which we see not the least trace of the majesty of the empire, except at the council of Constance, which was summoned by Sigismond, and where he appeared in all his glory.

The emperors had no demesnes at all left, having parted with them to the bishops, or to the Imperial cities,

cities, sometimes to make interest against the lords of the great fiefs, and sometimes for the sake of money. All that remained to them was the subsidy of the Roman months, which was paid only in time of war, or for the vain ceremony of being crowned at Rome. They were therefore under an absolute necessity of electing a powerful chief, which was the reason of giving the scepter to the house of Austria. They had need of a prince whose territories on the one hand communicated with Italy, and on the other, might enable him to stem the inundations of the Turks. This advantage Germany found in Albert II. duke of Austria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, which is what fixed the Imperial dignity in his family: the throne became hereditary without ceasing to be elective. Albert and his successors were chosen, because they were possessed of extensive demesnes; and Rodolph of Habsburgh, the stock of his family, was chosen because he had none. The reason is obvious: Rodolph was elected at a time when the houses of Saxony and Swabia threatened the empire with arbitrary power; and Albert II. at a time when the house of Austria was judged to have power sufficient to defend, though not to enslave, the empire.

Upon this account Frederick III. was elected emperor. Germany in his time was in a state of languid tranquillity. He was not so powerful as he might have been; and we have already seen that he was far from being the *sovereign of Christendom*, as was pompously mentioned in his epitaph.

Maximilian I. when only king of the Romans, began to make a more shining figure by the battle of Guinegaste, which he gained over the French in 1479, and by the treaty of 1472, by which he obtained the quiet possession of Franche-Comté, Artois, and Charolois. But as he received nothing from the Low Countries which belonged to his son Philip the *Handsome*, nothing from the people of Germany, and

and but a very small matter from his own territories, which were kept in awe by France, he never would have had any credit in Italy, were it not for the league of Cambray, and for Lewis XII. who was working for Maximilian.

At first the pope and the Venetians hindered him from being crowned emperor at Rome, so that as he could not receive the crown from the pope, he only assumed the title of *emperor elect*. After the league of Cambray he took pay of Henry VIII. king of England, which was one hundred crowns a day. In his dominions in Germany he had men enough to fight the Turks; but he had not those treasures by which France, England and Italy at that time were able to maintain a war. 1508. 1513.

Germany was become a republic of princes and cities, though the head expressed himself in his edicts as absolute master of the universe. It was divided so early as the year 1500, into ten circles: the directors of those circles being sovereign princes, and the generals and colonels of the troops being paid by the provinces, and not by the emperor, this establishment connected all the parts of Germany together, and maintained its freedom. As the supreme court of judicature, the Imperial chamber, was paid by the princes and by the cities, and did not reside in the emperor's private demesnes, this was also a support of the public liberty. It is very true that this chamber could not put its decrees in execution against the great princes, unless it was supported by the rest of the empire; but this very abuse of liberty shewed its existence. This is so far matter of fact, that the Aulic council which took its present form in 1512, and was dependent only on the emperors, soon became the principal support of their authority.

Under this form of government Germany was at that time as happy as any other state in the world.

As it was inhabited by a warlike people, capable of undergoing the greatest fatigues, there was no appearance that the Turks would be ever able to subdue it. The soil being fruitful and well cultivated, the people had no occasion to go abroad, as formerly, in search of new settlements; and they were neither so rich, nor so poor, nor so united, as to be able to conquer all Italy.

But what right had Germany then to Italy or to the Roman empire? The same as that of the Othos, and of the imperial house of Swabia; the same as that which had cost so much blood, and had suffered so many changes, since John XII. who was a Roman patrician, as well as pope, instead of reviving the courage of the antient Romans, had the imprudence to call in foreigners to his assistance. Rome had reason to repent it; for ever since there has been a kind of war between the priesthood and the empire, as likewise between the rights of the emperors, and the liberties of the Italian provinces. The title of Cæsar has been only the source of contested rights, of undetermined disputes, of apparent grandeur, and of real weakness. It was no more the time when the Othos made tributary kings. If Lewis XII. had cultivated a good understanding with the Venetians, instead of going to war with them, probably the emperors would never more have set foot in Italy. But it is a necessary consequence of the discord of the Italian princes, and of the nature of the papal government, that a great part of this country shall be always a prey to strangers.

C H A P. C.

*Customs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. And
the state of the polite arts.*

WE find that in Europe there were hardly any absolute princes. Before the reign of Charles V. the emperors durst not so much as pretend to arbitrary power. The popes indeed were become a great deal more masters than formerly in Rome, but less in the church. The crowns of Hungary and Bohemia were still elective, like those of the North; now all elections necessarily suppose a compact between the king and the nation. The kings of England could neither make, nor abuse the laws, without the concurrence of parliament. In Castile Isabella respected the Cortes, which are the states of the kingdom. In Arragon Ferdinand the catholic was not able to destroy the authority of the justiciary, who thought he had a right of trying crowned heads. France alone, since the reign of Lewis XI. was become an absolute monarchy; happy government, when such a king as Lewis XII. repaired the mistakes which he committed in regard to foreign states, by his affection for his people.

The general policy of Europe was perfected to such a degree, that the private wars of the feudal lords were no longer suffered any where; but the custom of duels continued.

These combats were anathematized by the decrees of the popes, who have been observed to enact wise laws, and even laws useful to Christendom, where their own personal interests were not concerned: but yet they were permitted by a great many bishops. The parliaments of France sometimes ordered them; witness the duel between Le Gris and Carrouges in the reign of Charles V: after that a great many duels were fought according to

law. The same abuse was likewise supported in Germany, Italy, and Spain; by forms considered as essential. They were sure to confess and to receive the sacrament, before they set about committing murder. The good chevalier Bayard always took care to have a mass celebrated, when he went to fight a duel. The combatants chose a godfather, whose business it was to match their arms, and especially to see that they had no enchantments about them; for these knights were extremely credulous.

There have been instances of some of this order of men, who have gone in search of duels into foreign countries, without any other motive than the desire of signalizing their prowess. John duke of Bourbonnois published a declaration in 1414, *that he would go over to England with sixteen knights, and there fight it out in order to avoid idleness, and to merit the good graces of the fair lady whose humble servant he was.*

The tournaments, though likewise condemned by the popes, were every where in use. They were still called *Ludi Gallici*, because Godfrey of Preuilly had made a code of the laws relating to them in the eleventh century. Above a hundred knights had been killed at these sports, and yet they were more than ever in vogue.

The death of Henry II. who was killed at a tournament in 1559, seemed to put an end to those unhappy sports. Yet within a twelvemonth after this catastrophe they were revived at Orleans, the nobility wanting amusements, and preserving a strong passion for this their favourite entertainment. On this occasion Henry de Bourbon Montpensier, prince of the blood, was killed by a fall from his horse: after which all tournaments entirely ceased. It is true that some resemblance of these sports was preserved.

served in the * *Pas d'armes*, held by Charles IX. and Henry III. a year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew; for in those shocking times it was the custom to intermix sports and festivals with proscriptions. But this *Pas d'armes* was not at all dangerous; for they did not fight in good earnest. There was no tournament at the marriage of the duke of Joyeuse in 1581; though the term is used on this occasion in *L'Etoile's* journal. The noblemen did not fight, and what *L'Etoile* calls a *tournament* was only a kind of martial dance exhibited by comedians in the garden of the Louvre; so that it was an entertainment represented before the court, but not wherein the courtiers acted a part themselves. The sports which afterwards continued to bear the name of tournaments, were no more than carousals.

The suppression of tournaments must therefore be dated from the year 1560: with them died the ancient spirit of chivalry, to appear no more except in romances. This spirit prevailed greatly at the time of Francis I. and Charles V. Francis was a true knight, and Charles would fain be one. They gave one another publicly the lye, and then sent each other a formal challenge: they had afterwards a familiar interview, when the emperor entrusted himself into the king's power without any other security than his word of honour, which he was incapable of violating. There are a great many passages in the reigns of both these princes which remind us of the heroic or fabulous times; but the more refined policy of Charles bore a nearer resemblance to the present age.

The art of war, the order of battle, together with offensive and defensive weapons, were quite different from what they are in our days.

The emperor Maximilian had introduced the arms of the Macedonian phalanx, which were pikes
eighteen

* A narrow passage kept by one or more knights against all comers,

eighteen feet long. The Swiss made use of them in the wars of Lombardy, but they changed them afterwards for the two-handed sword.

The arquebuses were become a necessary weapon of offence against the steel armour, with which the gendarmes were covered. Very few helmets or cuirasses were proof against those arquebuses. The gendarmery, who were called the main battle, fought on foot as well as on horseback: in the fifteenth century the French gendarmery were the most esteemed.

The German and Spanish infantry were reputed the best. The military cry was abolished almost in all armies.

With respect to political government, I find that the ministers of most kingdoms were cardinals. In Spain I behold a Ximenes under Isabella, who after the death of the queen is regent of the kingdom; who struts in a cordelier's habit, and places his whole pride in trampling the Spanish fastuosity under his sandals; who raises an army at his own expence, carries it over to Africa, and takes Oran; who in short is absolute throughout the kingdom, till the young king Charles V. sends him back to his archbishopric of Toledo, which breaks his heart.

In France Lewis XII. is governed by the cardinal d'Amboise: and cardinal Duprat is minister to Francis I. In England Henry VIII. is twenty years subject to cardinal Woolsey, a butcher's son, as proud a man as Amboise, and who, like him, wanted to be pope, and, like him, was disappointed. Charles V. entrusted the administration of Spain to his preceptor cardinal Adrian, whom he afterwards made pope; and cardinal Granvelle had some time after the government of Flanders. Cardinal Martinusius was minister in Hungary under Ferdinand brother of Charles V.

The

The reason why such a number of clergymen have had the administration of countries subject to a military government, is not only because the kings of those countries are more apt to confide in a priest whom they have no cause to fear, than in a general of an army, of whom they are often jealous; but likewise because those churchmen are frequently better instructed, and better qualified for conducting political affairs, than generals or courtiers.

It was not till this century that the French cardinals began to take place of the chancellors. The members of the sacred college disputed the point of precedence with the electors of Germany, and yet in France and England they yielded the pre-eminence to the chancellors; which is one of the many contradictions that human pride had introduced into the republic of Christendom. It appears from the registers of the parliament of England that lord chancellor Warham took place of cardinal Woolsey till the year 1516.

Kings at that time began to affect the title of majesty. The article of precedence among crowned heads was settled at Rome: and to the emperor were unanimously yielded the first honours. Next to him followed the king of France without competition: Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and Sicily, interchanged with England: to those succeeded Scotland, Hungary and Navarre, Cyprus, Bohemia, and Poland: Denmark and Sweden were the last. These precedencies afterwards occasioned violent disputes. Most kings pretended to be upon a par; but none of them have attempted to dispute the point with the emperor, who has preserved his rank, but lost his power.

The customs of civil life were all different from ours; the doublet and short cloak were now the dress of the several courts of Europe. Yet the gentlemen

tllemen of the law still wore a long robe; and the trading people a short coat which came half way down their legs.

In the reign of Francis I. there were only two coaches in Paris, one for the queen, and the other for Diana of Poitiers. Both men and women went on horseback.

There was so great an increase of specie, that in 1519, Henry VIII. king of England promised a portion of three hundred and thirty-three thousand crowns of gold to his daughter Mary, who was to be married to the eldest son of Francis I. Never had there been an instance of so large a dower.

The interview between Francis I. and Henry VIII. was a long time celebrated for its magnificence. Their camp was called the *camp of the cloath of tissue*; but from this transient parade, or luxurious effort, we must not conclude that the magnificence was general, nor that they had those useful conveniencies so superior to the pomp of a day, which in our times are grown so common. Industry had not as yet changed those huts of wood and plaister, of which the city of Paris was composed, into sumptuous palaces. London was still worse built, and they lived much harder; even the first peers of the realm carried their wives behind them on horseback, when they went into the country. Thus it was that all the princesses travelled, their heads covered with a riding-hood of waxed-linen in rainy weather. They went in no other habit to court: and this usage continued till the middle of the seventeenth century. The magnificence of Charles V. of Francis I. of Henry VIII. and of Leo X. was confined to days of show and solemnity. But now, the daily entertainments, the multitude of gilded coaches, the vast number of lamps with which the large towns are lighted by night, form a far nobler sight,

sight, and are a greater mark of plenty than the most gaudy ceremonies of the monarchs of the sixteenth century.

So early as the reign of Lewis XII. they had begun to introduce the silken and gold stuffs manufactured in Italy, instead of costly furs. There were no silk manufactures at that time at Lyons. Goldsmiths ware was likewise very bad; and Lewis XII. having by an indiscreet sumptuary law forbid it throughout his kingdom, the French had their plate from Venice. The goldsmiths were reduced to poverty, when the king wisely repealed his law.

Francis I. growing an œconomist towards the latter end of his days, issued out an edict against the use of gold and silken stuffs; a prohibition renewed by Henry II. But if those laws had been strictly observed, the manufactures of Lyons would have been destroyed. What induced those princes, to enact such laws, was the importation of the silk from abroad. Under Henry II. none but bishops were permitted to wear silk clothes. The princes and princesses had the exclusive privilege of wearing scarlet clothes, either of silk or of wool. In fine, in the year 1563, none except princes and bishops were allowed the privilege of wearing silk shoes.

These sumptuary laws prove only that the government had not always the most comprehensive views; and that it appeared more easy to the ministers to proscribe than to encourage industry.

There had been no plantations as yet of mulberry trees but in Italy and Spain: gold was manufactured only at Venice and Milan: yet the French fashions began already to be copied in Germany and England, and in Lombardy. The Italian historians complain that since the expedition of Charles VIII. their countrymen affected the French dress, and that they sent to France for all the ornaments of attire.

Pope

Pope Julius II. was the first who let his beard grow, in order to inspire the people with a new degree of veneration. Francis I. Charles V. and all the other kings followed this example, which was immediately adopted by their courtiers. But the gentlemen of the long-robe, who are attached to the antient customs, be they what they will, continued to have their faces shaved, while the young captains affected the mark of gravity and old age. This is but a trifling observation, yet it comes into the history of usages and customs.

But an article more worth the attention of posterity, more important than this variety of customs introduced by caprice, this succession of laws abolished by time, or all those quarrels of princes which die with them, is the never fading glory of the polite arts. This glory, during the whole sixteenth century, fell to the share of Italy only. Nothing can give us a stronger idea of antient Greece: for as the arts flourished in Greece in the midst of foreign and civil wars, so they had the same fate in Italy; and almost every thing in that happy climate was carried to its summit of perfection, while the armies of Charles V. were plundering Rome, while Barbarossa was ravaging the sea coasts, and the dissensions of the several princes and republics, interrupted the public tranquillity.

Italy had its Thucydides in Guicciardin, who wrote the history of the wars of his own time, as Thucydides wrote the war of Peloponnesus. There were no orators like Demosthenes, Pericles, and Æschines, in any of the Italian provinces; the government in most places being inconsistent with this kind of merit. Their stage, though far short of that degree of perfection to which the French theatre afterwards attained, might be compared to the Greek drama which they began to revive; and

Machiavel's

Machiavel's *Mandragora* alone is preferable perhaps to all Aristophanes's comedies. Besides, Machiavel was an excellent historian, and a man of fine genius, so that there can be no manner of comparison betwixt him and Aristophanes. If we would impartially weigh Homer's *Odyssey* and Ariosto's *Rolando* in the same scales, the Italian in many respects has greatly the advantage. They had both the same defect, a luxuriant fancy, and an excessive fondness of the marvellous; but Ariosto has made us amends by the exactness of his allegories, by the keenness of his satyr, by his profound knowledge of human nature, by his comic graces intermixed with strokes of terror, in a word by such a cluster of beauties of every kind, that he has found out the secret of making us fall in love with a monster.

In regard to the *Iliad*, let every impartial judge consult his own breast, and tell us what he thinks would be his real opinion, upon the first reading of this poem, and that of Tasso, without knowing the names of the authors, or the time when their works were composed, but determining only by the pleasure he received from each. Could he possibly avoid giving the preference to Tasso in every respect? Would not he find that the Italian was more interesting, had more œconomy, order, variety, exactness, and elegance; in a word, more of that softness which adds a lustre to the sublime. I question, whether they will even bear a comparison a few ages hence?

It seems indubitable that in the sixteenth century, painting was carried to a pitch of perfection unknown to the antient Greeks; for neither had they that variety of colours used by the Italians, nor were they acquainted with the art of perspective or of *chiaro-oscuro*.

Sculpture,

Sculpture, the easiest and most confined of the two, was the art in which the Greeks excelled; and the Italians glory in not falling far short of those models. They have surpassed them in architecture; and all nations acknowledge that nothing can be compared to the principal church of modern Rome; the finest, the largest; and the boldest temple the world ever beheld.

Musick was not thoroughly cultivated till after the sixteenth century; but we have the strongest presumption to believe that it is greatly superior to that of the Greeks, who have left us no monument whereby we can in the least imagine, that they had a knowledge of harmony or singing in parts.

The engraving of prints is an art invented at Florence in the fifteenth century, and was even then in its perfection. The Germans had the honour of being the inventors of printing, much about the time that engraving was discovered, and by this discovery alone they have multiplied human knowledge. It is not true, notwithstanding what the English authors of the universal history pretend, that Faustus was condemned to the flames by the parliament of Paris, as a conjurer. But it is true that his factors or agents, who came to Paris to vend the first printed editions, were accused of magic. This accusation indeed was attended with no consequence; it is only a melancholy proof of the gross ignorance which over-spread Europe, and which even the art of printing could not for a long time dispel. The parliament in 1474 ordered all the books to be seized, which one of the factors had brought from Mentz. Lewis XI. was obliged to forbid those magistrates from taking cognizance of the affair, and to order that the proprietors should be reimbursed the value of their books.

Real philosophy did not begin to emit its rays,
till

till towards the close of this bright century. Galileo was the first who taught physics to speak the language of truth and reason. It was a little before his time that Copernicus, on the frontiers of Poland, discovered the true system of the world. Galileo was not only the first that had a just taste of physics, but he wrote as elegantly as Plato; and in this he had incomparably the advantage of the Greek philosopher, that he asserted nothing but what was certain and intelligible. The manner in which this great man was treated by the inquisition towards the latter end of his days, would reflect perpetual disgrace on Italy, if this disgrace was not wiped off by the very glory of Galileo. Seven inquisitors passed a decree in 1616, declaring the opinion of Copernicus, so beautifully illustrated by the Florentine philosopher, *not only heretical in faith, but absurd in philosophy*. This sentence against an opinion which has been since so variously confirmed, is a pregnant testimony of the force of prejudice. It should be a lesson to those who have nothing but power on their side, to be silent when philosophy speaks, and not to attempt to determine points which do not fall under their jurisdiction. Galileo was afterwards condemned by the same tribunal to do penance in prison, and obliged to retract on his knees. His sentence was indeed milder than that of Socrates; but it exposes the stupidity of the Roman judges, as much as the condemnation of Socrates shewed the ignorance of the judges of Athens. There is a sort of fatality in human nature, that truth is to be persecuted when first it begins to make its appearance. Philosophy thus restrained could not make so great a progress in the sixteenth century, as the polite arts.

The religious disputes, in which the public were engaged in Germany, in the North, in France,
and

and in England, retarded instead of forwarding the progress of reason. It was impossible for people that were blind, and fought like madmen, to find out the right road to truth. These quarrels were only one distemper more added to the human mind. The arts continued to flourish in Italy, because the pest of religious controversy had not penetrated into that country: and it so happened, that while they were cutting one another's throats in Germany, France, and England, for things they did not understand; Italy completely at rest, since the amazing event of the plundering of Rome by the army of Charles V. applied herself more than ever to the improvement of the liberal arts. In other countries the religious wars were productive of barbarism and ruins; while Rome and several cities in Italy were displaying the wonders of architecture. Ten popes successively and almost without interruption, contributed to finish the church of St. Peter, and at the same time encouraged the other arts. Nothing of the like kind was to be seen in the rest of Europe. In a word, Italy alone had then the glory of being the seat of genius and taste, a glory heretofore confined to Greece.

C H A P. CI.

Of Charles V. and Francis I. till the election of Charles V. to the Imperial dignity in 1519.

Of the Emperor Maximilian's scheme to make himself Pope. Of the battle of Marignano.

TOWARDS this century, in which Charles V. obtained the Imperial diadem, the popes had no longer the power to dispose of this dignity as in former times; and the emperors had forgot their rights to the capital of Europe. These mutual pretensions

ensions were not unlike those empty titles of *king of France*, and *king of Navarre*, the former still assumed by the king of England, and the latter retained by the king of France.

The parties of Guelphs and Gibellines were almost entirely forgot. Maximilian had only acquired a few towns in Italy, for which he was indebted to the league of Cambray, having wrested them from the Venetians: but he had devised a new method of subjecting Rome and Italy to the emperors; which was to become pope himself after the demise of Julius II, having buried his wife, daughter of Galeazzo Maria, duke of Milan. There 1513. are still extant two letters in his own handwriting, one to his daughter Margaret, governess of the Low Countries, the other to the lord of *Cbieres*, wherein he discloses his design.

Who can tell what might have happened, had the same head been incircled with the Imperial and papal crowns? the system of Europe might have been changed; but it took a quite different turn under Charles V.

Immediately upon the death of Maximilian, when the disputes about indulgences, 1518. and Martin Luther, began to divide Germany, Francis I. king of France, and Charles of Austria, king of Spain, the two Sicilies, and Navarre, and sovereign of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, stood candidates for the Imperial dignity, at a time when Germany menaced by the Turks had need of such a chief of Francis I. or Charles of Austria. There had been no instance before of such potent kings making interest for the Imperial diadem. Francis I. was five years older than his competitor, and by his late exploits seemed more deserving of that dignity.

Upon his accession to the crown in 1515, the republic of Genoa surrendered herself once more into the

the hands of the French, by means of the intrigues of some of her own citizens. And immediately Francis I. marched into Italy with the same rapidity as his predecessors.

His business was to conquer the dutchy of Milan, which had been lost by Lewis XII. and to wrest it once more from the unhappy family of Sforza. He had the Venetians on his side, who wanted at least to recover the Veronese, of which they had been stripped by Maximilian. Against him were pope Leo X. a lively and intriguing prince, and the emperor Maximilian, who was worn out with age, and incapable of acting: but his most dangerous enemies were the Swiss, still irritated against France, since their quarrel with Lewis XII, and inflamed by the harangues of Matthew Schaner, cardinal of Sion. They then assumed the title of defenders of the popes, and protectors of princes; and indeed for the last ten years this was not an imaginary title.

The king on his march to Milan, continued all the while to negotiate with this nation. Practised in the art of dissimulation, which they had learnt of the cardinal of Sion, they amused his majesty with empty promises, till news being brought that the military chest of France was arrived, they thought they should have it in their power to carry off the money, the king and all, and at the same time to deliver Italy.

An army of 25,000 Swiss, with St. Peter's keys on their backs and breasts, some of them armed with Pikes eighteen feet long, with which they moved in close battalions, others with large two handed swords, advanced with loud shouts towards the king's camp in the neighbourhood of Marignano. Of all the battles fought in Italy, this was the bloodiest and longest. The French and Swiss being mixed together in the obscurity of the night, were obliged to wait for daylight

light to renew the engagement. The king slept on the carriage of a cannon within fifty paces of a Swiss battalion. In this engagement those people always attacked, and the French were upon the defensive. This, in my opinion, is a sufficient proof that the French may have that patient courage, which is sometimes as necessary as the impetuous ardour generally allowed them. It was very extraordinary in a young prince, only one and twenty years of age, not to lose his presence of mind in so long and so bloody an action. There was very little chance for the Swiss to be victorious, because the black German bands in the king's army were as good infantry as theirs, and they had no gendarmes. What surprizes me, is their being able to withstand almost two days the weight of those heavy horse, which were continually pressing upon their broken battalions. The old marshal *de Trivulce* used to call this the *battle of the giants*. All the world allowed that the honour of this victory was chiefly owing to the famous constable *Charles of Bourbon*, who was afterwards ill rewarded, and took too dear a revenge. The Swiss at length turned their backs, though not entirely routed; they lost upward of ten thousand upon the field of battle, and left the Milanese to the conqueror. Maximilian Sforza was carried into France like Lewis the Moor, but upon milder conditions. He became a subject, whereas the other had been made 1515 a captive. The sovereign of the finest province in Italy, was permitted to live in France with a moderate pension.

After the battle of Marignano, and the conquest of the Milanese, Francis concluded an alliance with pope Leo X. as also with the Swiss, who at length chose rather to supply the French with troops than to fight against them. He compelled the emperor Maximilian to restore the Veronese to the Venetians, who have kept it ever since. He
procured

procured for Leo X. the dutchy of Urbino, which still belongs to the church: thus he was considered as the umpire of Italy, as the greatest prince in Europe, and the best qualified for the Imperial crown, to which he now aspired after the death of Maximilian. Fame had not as yet so much to boast of in favour of young Charles of Austria; and this very circumstance determined the electors to give him the preference. They were afraid of being under too great a subjection to the king of France; and less apprehensive of a master, whose dominions, though more extensive, were remote and disjointed. Charles was therefore chosen emperor, notwithstanding the four hundred thousand crowns, with which Francis I. imagined he had purchased the electoral votes.

C H A P. CII.

Of Charles V, and Francis I, to the battle of Pavia.

EVERY body knows the rivalry, which from that time arose between those two princes. And how could they be otherwise than continually at war? Charles as sovereign of the Netherlands laid claim to Artois, and to a great many towns; as king of Naples and Sicily, he saw Francis I. ready to make good his pretensions to those dominions, founded on the same title as those of Lewis XII: as king of Spain, he had the usurpation of Navarre to maintain: as emperor, he had the great fief of the dutchy of Milan to defend against the pretensions of France. What a number of pretences for laying Europe waste!

Between these two great rivals Leo X. would fain hold the balance. But how is it possible for him to do it? Who is to be his vassal and king, of the two Sicilies? Charles or Francis? What is to become

become of the old pontifical law enacted in the 13th century, *that no king of Naples shall ever be emperor?* Leo X. had not power sufficient to see this law executed: it might be respected at Rome, but it was disregarded in the empire. The pope is soon obliged to grant a dispensation to Charles V. who indeed condescends to sue for it: he is obliged to have a vassal who makes him tremble. He grants the dispensation, and the next moment he repents it.

This balance which Leo X. wanted to hold, was in the hands of Henry VIII. Hence he was courted by the king of France and by the emperor; both of whom endeavoured to gain his chief minister cardinal Wolsey.

Francis I. contrives the famous interview 1520. with the king of England in the neighbourhood of Calais. Charles afterwards, upon his arrival from Spain, goes over to England and meets Henry at Canterbury, who conducts him back to Calais and Gravelines.

It was natural that the king of England should side with the emperor: for by such an alliance he might expect to recover those provinces in France, which had been possessed by his ancestors; whereas by joining with Francis I, he could make no acquisitions in Germany, where he had no pretensions.

While this prince is thus in suspense, Francis I. begins this obstinate quarrel by taking possession of Navarre. I am far from losing sight of the general view of Europe, to refute the details of a few historians; yet I cannot forbear observing how greatly Puffendorf is mistaken on some occasions. He says, that this expedition against Navarre was undertaken in 1516, immediately after the death of Ferdinand the catholic, by the dethroned king. To which he adds, that Charles had always his *plus ultra* present to his mind, and was daily forming vast designs.

Here are several mistakes. In 1516 Charles was only fifteen years old, a time of life from which vast designs are hardly expected; and he had not yet taken *plus ultra* for his motto. In short, it was not John d'Albret that marched into Navarre in 1516, upon the death of Ferdinand; John d'Albret died this very same year: but it was Francis I. that made a transient conquest of this kingdom in the name of Henry d'Albret, not in 1516 but in 1521.

Neither Charles VIII, nor Lewis XII, nor Francis I, preserved their conquests. Navarre was no sooner subdued than recovered again by the Spaniards. From that time the French were constantly obliged to fight against the Spanish forces at every extremity of the kingdom, towards Fontarabia, Flanders, and Italy; a situation which continued till the eighteenth century.

At the same time that the emperor's Spanish troops retook Navarre, his German forces were penetrating into Picardy, and his adherents in Italy were exciting the inhabitants in his favour.

Pope Leo X, ever wavering betwixt Francis I, and Charles V, at that time inclined towards the emperor. He had reason to complain of the French: they had attempted to take Reggio from him, as an appendage of the Milanese; and by unseasonable acts of violence they were rendering themselves odious to their new neighbours. Lautrec governor of the dutchy of Milan had ordered signor Pallavicini, suspected of raising an insurrection, to be quartered; and the confiscated estate he gave to his own brother *de Foix*. This occasioned a general disgust: and the French government neither redressed these disorders by a prudent conduct, nor by sending the necessary supplies of money.

The Swiss troops in the pay of France proved of no sort of use; there were also troops of that nation

tion in the Imperial army: and the cardinal of Sion, a name so fatal to the kings of France, having enticed those that were in the French army to go back to their own country; Lautrec governor of the Milanese was first driven from the capital, and shortly out of Italy. Leo X. died at the 1521. same time, when the temporal monarchy of Rome was gaining strength, and the spiritual beginning to decline.

Then indeed the power of Charles V, and the wisdom of his council, appeared in their full lustre. He had sufficient interest to obtain the papal dignity for his preceptor Adrian, though a native of Utrecht, and almost a stranger at Rome. His council consisting of men of greater judgment than that of Francis I, acted with such policy as to prevail on Henry VIII. to declare against France: this prince flattered himself that he might dismember at least those provinces, which had been heretofore possessed by his predecessors. Charles himself sets out for England to forward the armament and the embarkation of the troops. Not long after he artfully detached the Venetians from their alliance with France, and brought them over to his own side. In short, he had a party at Genoa, who with the assistance of his troops, drove away the French, and made a new doge under the Imperial protection. Thus both his power and his policy began to strengthen, and to encompass the French monarchy on every side.

Under these circumstances Francis I. expended too much on his pleasures, and kept but very little money for his affairs; so that he was obliged to take a large grate of massive silver that weighed near seven thousand marks, with which Lewis XI. had encircled the tomb of S. Martin at Tours. The state indeed stood more in need of this silver than S. Martin, yet the nature of the resource was a proof

of his urgent want. Besides, it had been now some years since he had disposed of twenty new employments in the law, for a sum of money. Thus the public sale of justice, and the stripping of the shrines, shewed very plainly the bad state of his finances. Francis perceived that all Europe was combined against him, and yet far from being disheartened, he faced the enemy on every side. The frontiers of Picardy were put into such order, that tho' the English were possessed of Calais, the key of France, yet they were not able to force their way into the kingdom; in Flanders the war was carried on with alternate success; towards Spain no attack was made; in short, the king having nothing left in Italy but the castle of Cremona, determined to go in person and reconquer the Milanese, that fatal object of French ambition.

To find resources for answering his purposes, and to enable him to undertake a second time the conquest of the dutchy of Milan, at the very time when France was attacked on every side, the creation of twenty new employments in the law, and St. Martin's silver grate, were insufficient. The king's demesnes were alienated for the first time, the land tax and other imposts were raised. This was a great advantage which the kings of France had over their neighbours; Charles V. was not so despotic in any part of his dominions; but this unhappy facility of exhausting the subject was productive of several calamities to France.

Among the causes of the disasters that befel Francis I, we may reckon his injustice to the constable of Bourbon, to whom he was indebted for the success of the battle of Marignano. The mortifications the constable had suffered upon all occasions, were his least complaint. Louisa of Savoy, dutchess of Angouleme, the king's mother, had made overtures of marriage

marriage to the constable upon the death of his wife: meeting with a repulse she resolved to ruin him, since she could not have him for her husband; she went to law with him in a cause that by all the lawyers was reckoned very unjust; and none but an omnipotent queen mother could have succeeded.

The point in dispute was the whole estate of the branch of Bourbon. The judges were influenced by the court to pass a decree, by which the estate was sequestered, and the constable left destitute. This prince sends his friend the bishop of Autun to the king, to beg his majesty would grant him a demurrer. The king would not so much as see the bishop. The constable, driven to despair, had been already solicited to go over to Charles V. It would have been great in him to have served with fidelity, and suffered with patience. But there is another kind of greatness, that of revenge: Charles of Bourbon unfortunately embraced the latter; he quitted France, to serve under the emperor. Few men ever indulged themselves more in this cruel pleasure of revenge.

The constable is immediately created generalissimo of the emperor's armies, and marches into the duchy of Milan, which the French had again invaded under Admiral Bonnivet his greatest enemy. A general thoroughly acquainted with the French troops, with their strong as well as weak side, must have been of great advantage to Charles: but there were other circumstances still more in his favour; almost all the princes of Italy were in his interest, the people hated the French Government; in short, he had the best officers in Europe, the marquiss of Pescara, Lannoy, John of Medicis, names still celebrated in our days.

Admiral Bonnivet was not to be compared to those generals: but even if he had surpassed them in abi-

lities, his troops were greatly inferior to theirs both in number and goodness, and moreover they were ill paid. He was obliged to give way; and in his retreat the Imperialists attacked him at Biagrasse. Here the French were routed, and the famous Bayard, who never commanded in chief, but who richly deserved the title of the *undaunted and unblemished chevalier*, was mortally wounded. Few readers are ignorant that Charles of Bourbon seeing him in this plight, told him how greatly he lamented his fate, and that the chevalier made answer as he was dying, "it is not me you should lament, but "yourself who are fighting against your king and "country."

The defection of this prince was very near being the ruin of the kingdom. He had some controvertible pretensions to Provence, which he could now assert by the sword, instead of those well founded rights which he had lost at law. Charles V. had promised him the antient kingdom of Arles, and Provence was to constitute the principal part of it.

King Henry VIII. allowed him a hundred 1524. thousand crowns per month this year towards the expence of the war. He had just taken Toulon, and was now laying siege to Marseilles. Francis I. had doubtless reason to repent his conduct; yet things were not desperate; he had still a fine army. He flew to the relief of Marseilles, and having rescued Provence, he marched once more into the Milanese. At that time Bourbon was on his return to Germany to recruit his army; and in the mean while Francis I. thought himself master of Italy.

C H A P. CIII.

Francis I. taken prisoner. Rome plundered. Solyman repulsed. Principalities bestowed. Conquest of Tunis. Question whether Charles V. aimed at universal monarchy? Solyman acknowledged king of Persia in Babylon.

WE are now come to one of the most memorable examples of the caprice of fortune; a word that means nothing more than a necessary concatenation of the various events of the universe. On one side Charles V. is busied in Spain, about settling ranks and titles; on the other Francis I, already celebrated throughout Europe for the victory of Marignano, renowned for valour as much as the chevalier Bayard, and attended by the gallant nobility of his kingdom, with a numerous army, has penetrated into the Milanese. Pope Clement VII having reason to be afraid of the emperor, openly espouses the cause of France. The best general of those days, John de Medicis, fights for him at the head of a chosen band. Yet he is defeated before Pavia; and notwithstanding his gallant feats, sufficient indeed to immortalize his name, he is made prisoner, with the principal nobility of France. It was his fate to be taken Feb. 24, 1525. by the only French officer, that followed the duke of Bourbon; so that a man who at Paris had been condemned to die, was now master of his sovereign's life. This gentleman's name was Pomperan; he had the glory to preserve the king from being killed, and to take him prisoner. It is certain that this same day the duke of Bourbon, one of the principal instruments of Charles's victory, went to see him, and triumphed at his misfortune. This interview was not the most fatal circumstance to

Francis I. Never was there a truer letter than that which he wrote to his mother: *Madam, all is lost but my honour.* The frontiers left naked, the exchequer empty, a consternation spread through the different orders of the kingdom, disunion in the council of the queen regent, the king of England Henry VIII. threatening to penetrate into France, and to revive the times of Edward III, and Henry V. All these circumstances seemed to portend inevitable ruin to the kingdom.

Charles V had not as yet drawn his sword, when he had not only a king, but a hero, his prisoner at Madrid, he seems to have neglected on this occasion to improve his good fortune; for instead of marching into France to reap the benefit of the victory obtained by his generals in Italy, he loses time in Spain; instead of seizing at least on the Milanese for himself, he thinks proper to sell the investiture thereof to Francis Sforza, that he may not give too much umbrage to Italy. Henry VIII, instead of joining with him to dismember France, grows jealous of his greatness, and enters into a treaty with the regent. Upon the whole, the captivity of Francis I, which ought naturally to have been followed by extraordinary revolutions, came to nothing. The king was ransomed; contumelious language ensued; Charles and Francis gave each other the lie; a public challenge was sent, but not accepted; so that the terror of those great events ended in ridicule, whereby the two chief personages of Christendom greatly demeaned themselves.

True it is that by the fatal treaty of Madrid, the captive king yielded up Burgundy; but he soon found himself strong enough to set aside this part of the treaty. He ceased to be lord paramount
 1526. of Flanders and Artois; but in this he lost no more than empty homage. His two sons
 were

were hostages in his stead, but he paid their ransom: this ransom indeed was no less a sum than two millions of crowns, a heavy burden without doubt to France. When we come to consider what sums were expended in consequence of the captivity of Francis I, of king John, and of St. Lewis; and how greatly France was exhausted by the prodigality of the duke of Anjou, brother to Charles V, as well as by the wars against the English, we cannot but be surprised that Francis I. should find such resources. These were owing to the successive acquisitions of Dauphiné, Provence, and Britany, to the union of Burgundy, and to the increase of commerce. This is what repaired a series of disasters, and supported France against the prosperous Charles V.

The same good fortune, which had delivered a king into that prince's hands, made pope Clement VII. a year afterwards his prisoner, without having any hand in it himself. The pope, the king of England, and one half of Italy, apprehensive of his great power, had entered into a league against him. The same duke of Bourbon, proved as fatal to Clement VII. as to Francis I. He commanded on the frontiers of the Milanese an army of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, who had been victorious indeed, but were very ill paid, and in want of every thing. He proposes to his troops to go and plunder Rome as an equivalent for their pay; an expedition not unlike those in former days of the Heruli and the Goths. They marched away to Rome directly, notwithstanding the truce which had been signed betwixt the pope and the viceroy of Naples. They scale the town; Bourbon is killed in mounting May 6, the wall: but Rome is taken, delivered up 1527. to the soldiers, and plundered; the pope retires to the castle of St. Angelo, where he is made prisoner.

The sacking of Rome, and the captivity of the pope, no more contributed to render Charles V absolute master of Italy, than the taking of Francis I prisoner opened a passage for him into France. Therefore the notion of universal monarchy attributed to Charles V, is as false and chimerical as that which was afterwards imputed to Lewis XIV. Instead of keeping possession of Rome, or of 1528. subduing all Italy, he sets the pope at liberty for four hundred thousand crowns, of which he never received more than one hundred thousand; as he afterwards set the two sons of Francis I. at liberty for two millions of crowns.

Many are surprized that an emperor, who was sovereign of Spain, of all the Netherlands, of Naples, Sicily, and Lombardy, who was already possessed of Mexico, and whose subjects were at that very time reducing Peru to his obedience, reaped so little advantage from his successes. But the first treasures sent to him from Mexico, sunk to the bottom of the sea; and he received no regular taxes from America, like his son Philip II. The troubles excited in Germany by the Lutheran disputes, gave him great uneasiness; the motions of the Turks in Hungary, alarmed him still more: he had Solyman and Francis I, to deal with at the same time; the princes of Germany to overawe; the Italian states, and especially the Venetians, to manage; and the wavering temper of Henry VIII to fix. He acted the principal character on the stage of Europe; but he was always at a vast distance from universal monarchy.

His generals found it even difficult to drive the French out of Italy, who had penetrated into the kingdom of Naples in 1528. The system of an equilibrium of power was at this very period established in Europe, for immediately after the taking of Francis I, England and the Italian states entered into a league

a league with France to balance the power of the emperor. They formed also an alliance of the same kind, when the pope was taken prisoner.

Peace was concluded at Cambray upon the 1529. plan of the treaty of Madrid, by which Francis I. recovered his liberty. It was at this peace that Charles restored the two princes royal of France, and gave up his pretensions to Burgundy for two millions of crowns.

Charles then sets out from Spain to receive the Imperial diadem from the hands of the pope, and to kiss the toe of the very person whom he had detained in captivity. He disposes of all Lombardy like an absolute sovereign. He grants to Francis Sforza the investiture of the Milanese, and to 1529. Alexander of Medicis that of Tuscany; he names a duke of Mantua; he makes the pope 1530. restore Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara: but all this he does for money; and without reserving any other right to himself than that of lord paramount.

The obeisance paid him by such a number of princes was a scene of pomp and magnificence. But it was solid greatness in him to drive Solyman out of Hungary at the head of a hundred thousand men, assisted by his brother Ferdinand, and especially by the protestant princes of Germany, who signalized themselves in the defence of the common cause. This was the commencement of the active part of his life, and of his personal grandeur. We see him busied at the same time in fighting against the Turks, in keeping the French on the other side of the Alps, and in summoning a general council, till he returns with the utmost expedition to Spain in order to wage war in Africa. He 1535. lands before Tunis, obtains a victory over the usurper of that kingdom, appoints a king tributary to Spain, sets at liberty eighteen thousand Christian

tian slaves, carries them back with him in triumph to Europe, and enables them by his generous donations to return to their respective countries, where they extol their great benefactor to the skies. The rest of the Christian princes made no sort of figure in comparison to him; the splendor of his fame eclipsed all other glory.

It was his good fortune that Solyman, an enemy more formidable than Francis I, was at that
1534. time employed against the Persians. Solyman had taken Tauris; from whence directing his march towards the antient Assyria, he completed the conquest of Bagdat, the modern Babylon, after having made himself master of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbec, and of Curdistan the antient Susiana. In a word, he was proclaimed and inaugurated king of Persia by the caliph of Bagdat. The Persian caliphs for a long while had no other honour than that of presenting the sultan's turban, and of girding the sabre round him who had most power. Mahmoud, Jengiz, Tamerlane, Ismael Sophi, had accustomed the Persians to change masters.

1535. Solyman after having dispossessed Thomas, son of Ismael, of one half of Persia, returned in triumph to Constantinople. But his generals lost part of their master's conquests in Persia. Thus the whole globe was balanced, the several great states being a check to each other; as, Persia to Turkey; Turkey to Germany and Italy; Germany and Spain to France: and if there had been any other nations more to the west, Spain and France would have had new enemies.

Europe had experienced no violent revolutions since the ruin of the Roman empire; and no emperor since Charlemaign had made so great a figure as Charles V. The former has the chief rank in history as a conqueror and founder; the latter is possessed of equal power, but acts a character far more difficult.

Charlemaign

Charlemaign with numerous armies trained up and disciplined by Pepin and Charles Martel, subdued with ease the effeminate Lombards and the barbarous Saxons. Charles V. was obliged to be constantly upon his guard against France, against the Turkish empire, and against one half of Germany.

England separated as it were from the rest of the world in the eighth century, is in the sixteenth grown a potent and respectable kingdom. But what renders the situation of Charles V. greatly superior to that of Charlemaign, is that his dominions in Europe are very near as extensive as Charlemaign's, but more populous, more flourishing, and abounding with eminent men. There was not one great trading town at the beginning of the restoration of the empire. Not one name, except the sovereign's, has been consecrated to posterity. The single province of Flanders in the sixteenth century is of more value than the whole empire in the ninth. Italy at the time of Paul III, compared to Italy under Adrian I, and Leo III, is the same as modern architecture compared to Gothic. I do not speak here of the polite arts by which this age rivalled that of Augustus, nor of the good fortune of Charles V, in reckoning such a number of great geniuses for his subjects. I am treating only of public affairs, and giving a general idea of the universe.

C H A P. CIV.

Conduct of Francis I. Interview betwixt him and Charles V.

Their quarrels which produced another war. Alliance between the king of France and Sultan Solymán. Death of Francis I.

THAT Francis I, upon seeing his rival dispose of kingdoms, should attempt to recover the Milanese,

Milanese, which he had renounced by treaties; that he should call to his assistance that very Solyman, and those very Turks who had been repulsed by Charles V; all these may be political steps, but great success alone could render them glorious.

This prince might have given up his pretensions to the Milanese, that endless source of war, that tomb of the French nation; as Charles had relinquished his rights to Burgundy, which were founded on the treaty of Madrid: he would have been happy in the enjoyment of peace; he would have polished and improved his kingdom much more than he did at the latter end of his reign; in short he would have had an opportunity of displaying all his royal virtues. He was a great prince as an encourager of the arts: but his fatal passion for the dukedom of Milan, his eagerness to be a vassal of the empire in spite of the emperor, sullied all his glory. Obligated soon after to sue for the assistance of Barbarossa, he was reproached by that corsair with not having acted up to his engagement, while he was treated as a renegado and a perjurer by the diet of the empire.

How fatal a contrast! to burn the Lutherans at Paris, among whom were some Germans, by a slow fire; while he is entering into an alliance with the Lutheran princes of the empire, to whom he is obliged to apologize for this severity, and even to affirm that there had been no Germans among the sufferers. How can historians be so mean as to approve of this punishment, and attribute it to the *pious zeal* of a voluptuous prince, who had not the least shadow of that piety with which they flatter him? If they call this a religious act, it is evidently contradicted by that prodigious number of Catholic slaves, whom his treaty with Solyman consigned to Turkish chains on the coast of Italy. If this be a politic action, we must approve of the persecutions of the Pagans, who

who sacrificed such a number of Christians. Charles V put not one Lutheran to death; he had set eighteen thousand captive slaves at liberty, instead of delivering them up to the Turks.

Francis I, in his fatal expedition against Milan, wanted to pass through Piedmont; and the duke of Savoy refused him a passage. The king therefore attacks the duke of Savoy, while 1534. the emperor is on his triumphant return from Tunis. Savoy was wasted by fire and sword for another reason, because the mother of Francis I. was of that family. Pretensions to some part of that territory had been long a bone of contention. The wars for the dutchy of Milan had been also owing to the marriage of Lewis XIIth's grandmother. In every hereditary state in Europe, marriages have been productive of war. The public law by this means is become one of the chief scourges of nations; since the several clauses of marriages, contracts and treaties have been ever explained by the sword. The duke's territories were ravaged upon this invasion of Francis I; an invasion which set Geneva intirely at liberty, and in some measure rendered it the center of the reformed religion. Thus this very king, who at Paris was practising the most horrid cruelties against the religious innovators, who was making processions to expiate their errors, who used to say that *he would not spare even his own children, if they were guilty*, proved every where else the chief support of what he was endeavouring to exterminate in his own dominions.

It is great injustice in father Daniel to assert, that Geneva at that time acted in open rebellion against the duke of Savoy. This duke was not the sovereign of that city. It was a free Imperial town; which, like Cologne, and some other places shared the government with the bishop. The bishop had resigned

resigned his rights to the duke of Savoy; and those rights, which were unsettled, had been referred to arbitration within those twelve years. He should rather have observed that Geneva was at that time a poor little town; and that since it had acquired its liberty, it was become twice more populous, more industrious, and opulent.

But what advantage does Francis I. derive from such a number of enterprizes? Charles V. sets out from Rome, obliges the French to repass 1536. the Alps, enters Provence with fifty thousand men, advances as far as Marseilles, and lays siege to Arles; while another army ravages Champagne and Picardy. Thus the fruit of this new expedition against Italy, was only exposing France to ruin.

Provence and Dauphiné were saved intirely by the prudent conduct of the marshal de Montmorenci, as in our days they have been preserved by another marshal of France. One may reap, I think, a considerable benefit from history, by comparing times and events. It is a pleasure worthy a good citizen, to inquire into the resources, by which two victorious armies have been forced to retire from the same territory and on the same occasion. Amidst the idle amusements of great cities, there are few that know what pains it costs a general to lay up provisions in a country, which hardly produces enough for its inhabitants; to find money to pay the troops; to furnish them with necessaries upon his own credit; to guard the banks of rivers; and to seize on the advantageous posts that had been occupied by the enemy. Details of this kind do not belong to our plan. There is no necessity to examine them, except during the time of action: they are, as it were, the materials of a building; of which no more notice is taken, when the house is finished.

But

But the strongest characteristic of Charles V, and Francis I. in their several disputes, by which Europe was so greatly convulsed, was a singular contrast of frankness and reserve, of choler and reconciliation, of violent outrages and quick forgiveness, of subtle cunning and generous confidence.

Who could imagine that Charles and Francis should have a familiar interview with each other, like two neighbouring gentlemen, after Francis's confinement at Madrid, after giving each other the lie, after sending a challenge, after proposing a single combat before the pope in full consistory, after the alliance between the king of France and Solyman; in a word after the emperor had been charged, as publicly as unjustly, with having caused the first dauphin to be poisoned; and at a time when the frontiers were still reeking with human blood?

And yet those two great rivals saw each other in Aigue-mort road. The pope had contrived this interview after a truce; Charles V. went on shore, and made the first visit, venturing himself into the hands of his enemy. This was the spirit of the times; Charles always distrusted the promises of the monarch, while he reposed an entire confidence in the gentleman.

The duke of Savoy was a long while the victim of this interview. These two monarchs, notwithstanding that they saw and conversed with each other so very familiarly, were still concerting measures of mutual annoyance; in consequence whereof they kept possession of the strong towns belonging to the duke, the king of France to open a passage, whenever he should have occasion, into the Milanese, and the emperor to prevent him.

After this interview at Aigue-mort, Charles made a tour to Paris, which is far more surprizing than that of the emperors Sigismund and Charles IV.

Upon

Upon his return to Spain, he hears of the revolt of Gaunt in Flanders. To know how far that city had a right to maintain, and how far she abused her privileges, is a problem which it belongs to a superior force alone to determine. Charles V. impatient to reduce and to chastise the mutinous inhabitants, desires the king to grant him a passage; the king sends the dauphin and the duke of Orleans before him as far as Bayonne, and goes to meet him himself in person at Chatelleraut.

The emperor was fond of travelling, of being seen by the different nations of Europe, and of displaying his magnificence. This expedition was one continued scene of sports and festivals; while the whole end of it was to hang a few wretched citizens. He might easily have spared himself all that trouble, by sending a few troops, to the governors of the Netherlands; it is even a subject of surprise that he did not leave a sufficient force in Flanders to quell the insurrection of the town of Gaunt; but it was the custom at that time for princes to disband their troops, after concluding a truce or a peace.

The intention of Francis I. in granting the emperor a passage through his dominions, and giving him so kind and magnificent a reception, was to obtain of him a promise of the investiture of the Milanese. It was this idle notion that induced him to refuse the homage offered by the inhabitants of Gaunt. But he got neither Gaunt nor Milan.

It is pretended that the constable de Montmorenci was disgraced; for having counselled the king to content himself with the verbal promise of Charles V. I mention this trivial circumstance, because if true it gives a further insight into human nature. A person who ought only to blame himself for following bad advice, is frequently so unjust as to punish the adviser. But Francis had hardly rea-
son

son to be sorry for taking the emperor's word; a promise in writing would not have been more binding.

Francis I. had signed an agreement to deliver up Burgundy, yet he took care not to keep his word. A great province is seldom ceded to an enemy, without being compelled by force of arms. The emperor afterwards publicly acknowledged, that he had promised the dukedom of Milan to one of the king's sons; but he pretended it was on condition that Francis I. would evacuate Turin, which he had not performed.

After all, the generous reception which the king gave to the emperor in France, the many sumptuous entertainments, and mutual tokens of confidence and friendship, terminated in fresh broils and quarrels.

While Solyman continues to ravage Hungary, while Charles to attain the summit of glory, undertakes to conquer Algiers, as he had conquered Tunis, but proves unsuccessful in the attempt, Francis I. enters into a closer alliance with Solyman. He sends two ministers to Constantinople by the way of Venice, who are assassinated on the road by order of the marquis *del Vasto* governor of the Milanese, under pretence that they are subjects of the emperor. The last duke of Milan Francis Sforza had some years before beheaded another of the 1541. king's ministers. How is this violation of the law of nations to be reconciled with the generous behaviour, upon which the officers of those days used to pique themselves? The war is renewed with greater fury than ever towards Piedmont, the Pyrenees, and in Picardy. Then it was that the king's gallies joined the fleet under Cheredin surnamed Barbarossa, admiral to the sultan, and viceroy of Algiers. The flower de luces, and 1543. the crescent appear before Nice. The combined fleet under the count of Anguien of the branch of Bourbon, and the Turkish admiral, miscarry in their

their attempt to take this town: Barbarossa fails back to Toulon, as soon as the famous Andrew Doria appears in sight with his gallies.

This same Doria may be ranked the very foremost of all those who raised the renown of Charles V. He had the glory of beating that prince's gallies before Naples, when he was admiral to Francis I. and while Genoa his country, was still subject to the dominion of France. Thinking himself ill used afterwards by that court, he followed the example of the constable of Bourbon, and entered into the emperor's service. He defeated the Turkish fleets several times; but what did him the greatest honour, was his restoring the liberty of his country, of which Charles V. had granted him the sovereignty. He preferred the title of restorer, to that of master. He settled the government on its present footing, and lived till the age of ninety four, the most revered of any man in Europe. Genoa erected a statue to him as to the deliverer of his country.

In the mean time the count d'Anguien 1544. wipes off the disgrace of Nice by the battle of

Cerizoles in Piedmont, where he defeated the marquis *del Vasto*. Never was victory more complete. But what advantage did France derive from that glorious day? none at all. It was the fate of the French to obtain useless victories in Italy. Of this the battles of Agnadel, Fornova, Ravenna, Marignano, and Cerizoles, are lasting proofs.

By some unconceivable fatality Henry VIII. king of England, concludes an alliance against France with that very emperor whose aunt he had so ignominiously repudiated, and whose cousin he had declared a bastard; in short with that very emperor who had obliged pope Clement VIII. to excommunicate him. Princes forget injuries as easily as benefits, where their interest is concerned. But one would think that

that caprice rather than interest formed that connection between Henry VIII. and Charles V.

The king of England reckoned to march to Paris with thirty thousand men. He laid siege to Boulogne by sea, while Charles V. advanced into Picardy. Where was the favourite balance of Henry VIII? He only wanted to embarrass Francis I. and to hinder him from opposing the projected marriage betwixt his son Edward and Mary Stuart, who was afterwards queen of France. Strange pretence for declaring war!

Under these circumstances, the victory of Cerizoles proved quite useless to France. The king is obliged to recal great part of that victorious army, for the defence of the northern frontiers of the kingdom.

France was in greater danger than ever. Charles had reached Soissons, while the king of England was taking Boulogne; and Paris seemed to be in the utmost consternation. Then it was that the Lutheran religion preserved France, and did her more service than the Turks, on whom the king had so greatly relied. The princes of that persuasion in Germany, jealous of the overgrown power of Charles V. had entered into a confederacy against him, and taken up arms to preserve their liberty. Charles finding himself hard pressed in the empire, at the 1544. same time that he was pressing hard upon France, concluded a treaty at Crepi in Valois, that he might be at leisure to reduce his subjects in Germany.

By this peace he once more promised the Milanese to the king's son the duke of Orleans, who was to be his son-in-law: but fate would not have it that this province should be subject to a French prince; and the death of the duke of Orleans 1545. saved the emperor the confusion of another breach of his word.

Not

1546. Not long after that Francis I. purchased a peace with England for eight hundred thousand crowns. Such were his last exploits. Such the fruit of the designs of his whole life upon Naples and Milan. He was in every respect a victim to the good fortune of Charles V; for he died a few months after Henry VIII. of that distemper, which the Discovery of the new world had transplanted into Europe, and which in those days was almost incurable. How strange the chain of sublunary events! A Genoese pilot enriches Spain with a new world. In the isles of those distant climates nature has planted a poison which infects the very source of life; and it is decreed that a king of France is to die of it. He leaves behind him a legacy of lasting discord, not betwixt France and Germany, but betwixt the house of France and the house of Austria.

C H A P. CV.

Troubles of Germany. Battle of Mulberg. Greatness and Disgrace of Charles V. His abdication.

THE death of Francis I. did not pave the way for that universal monarchy, which Charles V. was supposed to have had in view: he was still a great way from it. He had not only a formidable enemy in Henry II. successor of Francis; but at that very time the princes, and cities of the new religion in Germany, had entered into a confederacy, and were assembling a great army to oppose him. It was rather the cause of liberty than that of Lutheranism.

Neither this potent emperor, nor his brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, were able to raise such numerous forces in Germany, as the confederates brought into the field. In order to be

be a match for the enemy, Charles was obliged to have recourse to his Spanish Forces, and to pope Paul III. for troops and money.

Nothing could be more complete than the 1547. victory of Mulberg. The elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, were both taken prisoners; the Lutheran party was in the utmost consternation; and prodigious contributions were imposed on the vanquished provinces: all this together seemed to render him despotic in Germany. But the same thing happened to him now as after he had taken Francis I. prisoner; he lost the whole fruit of his victory. Paul III. withdrew his troops as soon as he saw him too powerful. Henry VIII. spirited up the languid remains of the Lutheran party in Germany. And Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, on whom Charles had bestowed the dutchy of the vanquished Frederick, soon declared against him, and put himself at the head of the league.

At length, this emperor, so terrible to 1552. Germany, is very near being taken prisoner in company with his brother, by the confederates. He flies to the defiles of Inspruck. At the same time Henry II. king of France seizes on Metz, Toul, and Verdun, provinces which have ever since continued in the possession of France, as a price of that liberty which this crown secured to Germany. We find that at all times the princes of the empire, and even the Lutheran religion itself, have owed their preservation to the kings of France. This is what happened again under Ferdinand II. and Ferdinand III.

The possessor of Mexico is forced to borrow two hundred thousand crowns of Cosmo duke of Florence, in order to recover Metz; and having accommodated matters with the Lutherans to be revenged of the king of France, he lays siege to that city, at the head of fifty thousand men. This is one of the
most

most memorable sieges in history; it does immortal honour to Francis of Guise, who de-
1553. fended the town sixty five days against Charles V. and obliged him at length to desist from his undertaking, after he had lost one third of his army.

The power of Charles V. was at that time a heap of dignities, environed by precipices. His continual hurry would not permit him to mould his vast dominions into a compact body, the several parts of which might be of mutual aid, and supply him with large standing armies. This was the policy of Charlemaign: but Charlemaign's territories were contiguous to one another, the conqueror of the Saxons and Lombards had no Solyman to repulse, no kings of France to fight against, no powerful princes of Germany, nor a pope of still greater power to check or to be afraid of.

Charles knew full well what materials were requisite for erecting so solid a structure as the empire of Charlemaign. Nothing could be done unless his son Philip possessed the Imperial dignity; if that was effected, as the treasures of Mexico and Peru rendered him more opulent than all the kings of Europe together, he might bid fair for that universal monarchy, which is much easier imagined than attained.

With this view Charles used all his endeavours to engage his brother Ferdinand king of the Romans to resign the empire to Philip. But this shocking proposal only tended to set Philip and Ferdinand ever after at variance.

Tired at length of so tumultuous a life, grown old before his time, and undeceived in regard to every thing, because of his general experi-
1556. ence, he renounces his crowns and the world at the age of fifty six, that is, at a period of life when ambition operates with its whole force in other men, and when such a number of those subaltern kings,

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kings, called ministers, do but begin the career of their grandeur.

Before we shew what influence Philip II. had over one half of Europe, how powerful England was under Elizabeth, what became of Italy, in what manner the republic of the United Provinces was established, and to what a frightful situation France was reduced, I must give some account of the revolutions of religion, because it has interfered in all public transactions, either as a cause or pretence, ever since the time of Charles V.

I shall afterwards take a view of the conquests of the Spaniards in America, and of the Portuguese in the East Indies, conquests of an amazing kind, the whole benefit of which was reaped by Philip II. who became thereby the most powerful prince in Christendom.

C H A P. CVI.

-Of Leo X. and of the church.

YOU have run through this vast chaos, in which the Christian states of Europe were involved, after the decline of the Roman empire. The political administration of the church which ought naturally to have reunited the several parts that had been divided, proved unfortunately a fresh source of confusion, unknown till that time in history. The Roman and Greek churches, incessantly at variance, had by means of their divisions thrown open the gates of Constantinople to the Turks.

The empire and the priesthood constantly in arms against each other, had depopulated Italy, Germany, and almost every other country in Europe. The mixture of these two jarring powers, was the means to foment eternal broils. The feudal go-

vernment had made sovereigns of several bishops and monks. The limits of many dioceses were different from those of the state. The same town was reckoned Italian or German from its bishop, and French from its king. You have seen the secular jurisdiction every where opposing the ecclesiastic, except in those dominions which were heretofore and still continue subject to the church: you have beheld every secular prince endeavouring to render his government independent of the see of Rome, though without being able to succeed: you have seen bishops sometimes resisting the popes, and sometimes joining with the see of Rome in opposition to kings; in a word, the Christian republic of the Latin church almost generally united in doctrine, but divided in every thing else.

After the odious but successful pontificate of Alexander VI. after the military but still more successful reign of Julius II. the popes might be considered as the arbiters of Italy, and to have a great influence over the rest of Europe. Not one Italian power had a greater extent of territory, except the king of Naples, who likewise held his kingdom of the holy see.

Under such favourable circumstances, the four and twenty cardinals who at that time composed the whole college, chose John de Medici, great great grandson of the illustrious Cosmo de Medici, a private merchant, though father of his country.

John de Medici had been created cardinal at fourteen: and now he was made pope at the age of thirty six, when he took the name of Leo X. His family was at that time returned to Tuscany. Leo had soon influence enough to place his brother Peter at the head of the government of Florence. His other brother Julian the magnificent, married the princess of Savoy, dutchess of Nemours, and was

one

one of the most powerful lords in Italy. Those three brothers were disciples of Angelus Politianus, and Chalcondylas, and shewed themselves deserving of such masters. They expressed a high emulation in the encouraging of letters and the polite arts; so as to deserve that this should be stiled the Medicean age. The pope especially, had a most delicate taste, and was fond of displaying the highest magnificence. By his liberality he excited the great geniuses in all arts, and still more so by his winning deportment. His coronation cost a hundred thousand crowns. On this occasion he ordered the *Penula of Plautus* to be acted. The bright days of the Roman empire seemed to revive. Religion had nothing austere in its appearance; but attracted respect by pompous ceremonies: the barbarous stile of the *datary* * was abolished, to make room for the eloquence of the cardinals Bembo and Sadoletus, at that time the pope's secretaries, men who knew how to imitate Cicero's latinity, and seemed likewise to adopt his sceptic principles. The comedies of Ariosto and Machiavel, though not very delicate in regard to modesty and religion, were frequently acted at this court in the presence of the pope and cardinals, by young persons of the highest quality at Rome. The merit of those pieces, great indeed for that age, made an impression on the spectators. Whatever might be offensive to virtue, escaped censure at a court entirely intent on pleasure, not in the least imagining that virtue could be injured by these liberties. And indeed as they neither attacked the doctrine nor the jurisdiction of the church, the court of Rome took no more exceptions against them, than the Greeks and antient Romans against the wit and raillery of Aristophanes and Plautus.

E 2 Even

* An officer of the chancery of Rome, through whose hands most benefices pass.

Even affairs of the highest importance, which *Leo X.* understood thoroughly how to conduct, never broke in upon his nicer pleasures. Neither the conspiracy of two cardinals against his life, nor the severe punishment which he inflicted on those delinquents, made any alteration in the gaiety of his court.

The cardinals *Petrucci* and *Soli*, being highly incensed because the pope, had deprived the nephew of *Julius II.* of the duchy of *Urbino*; they bribed a surgeon who attended his holiness for a secret distemper; and upon the death of *Leo X.* there was to be a rising in diverse towns of the ecclesiastical state. The conspiracy was discovered; and several of the most criminal lost their lives. The two cardinals were put to the torture, and condemned to die. Cardinal *Petrucci* was strangled in prison; the other's money saved his life.

It is very remarkable that they were condemned by the secular magistrates of *Rome*, and not by their peers. This proceeding of the pope seemed to set an example to all sovereigns, of subjecting the clergy to the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges: but the holy see did not think fit to grant this privilege to kings, though she assumed it herself. Whence comes it that the cardinals when they elect the pope, do not divest him of this despotic power, as the electors and princes of *Germany* have restrained the authority of the emperors? It is because those princes are possessed of territories; and the cardinals, of dignities only.

This melancholy affair was soon succeeded by the customary rejoicing. *Leo X.* the sooner to cancel the memory of the execution of a cardinal, created thirty more, most of them *Italians*, whose temper was every way conformable to that of their sovereign, If they had not the same taste and learning

as the pontiff, at least they imitated him in his pleasures. Almost all the other prelates followed their examples. Spain was at that time the only country, remarkable for the exemplary lives of the clergy. This strictness of morals had been introduced by cardinal Ximenes, a man of a sour disposition, who had no relish but for arbitrary power, who strutted in a cordelier's habit, when he was regent of Spain, saying that with his cord he knew how to bind the grandees to their duty, and that he would crush their pride under his sandals.

In every other country the prelates lived like voluptuous princes: some of them possessed eight or nine bishopricks. We are astonished when we hear of the vast number of benefices enjoyed, for instance, by the cardinal of Lorrain, by cardinal Wolsey, and so many others: but this plurality of benefices was attended with no worse consequence, than the number of bishoprics at present enjoyed by the electors or prelates of Germany.

The whole torrent of protestant and catholic writers make loud complaints against the loose morals of those times. They tell us that the bishops, the inferior clergy, and the monks, led most indolent lives; that nothing was more common than for priests to bring up their children publicly, after the example of Alexander VI. We have still the will of Croui, bishop of Cambray in those days, wherein he leaves several legacies to his children, and reserves a sum *for the bastards, which he still hopes that God will be so gracious as to give him, in case he recovers from this illness.* Those are the very words of the will. Pope Pius II. had long before observed, *that the clergy were forbid to marry for very strong reasons; but that there were much stronger reasons to allow them to marry.* Protestant writers have carefully collected proofs, to shew that in several parts of Germany, the people always

obliged the secular clergy to have concubines, to the end that married women might be less exposed to danger: yet it must be allowed that this was not a sufficient reason to justify so many civil wars; nor were people to be killed, because a few priests begot children.

But what gave the greatest scandal of all, was the public and private sale of indulgences, absolutions, and dispensations of all prices; that apostolic revenue, unlimited and uncertain before the time of pope John XXII. but by him digested as a code of the canon law. A subdeacon, or a deacon, guilty of murder, was absolved with permission to hold three benefices, for about twenty crowns. A bishop, or an abbot might assassinate a person for about three hundred livres. All manner of uncleanness, even the most shocking to nature, had its settled price. Bestiality was valued at two hundred and fifty livres. Dispensations were granted, not only for past, but future sins. In the archives of Joinville they found an indulgence, granted to the cardinal of Lorrain, and to twelve of his retinue, whereby the remission of three sins, which-ever they chose to nominate, should be anticipated to each. Le Laboureur, a diligent writer, relates of the dutchess of Burgundy and Auvergne, sister to Charles VIII. that she and ten of her attendants, had the privilege of obtaining general absolution from all their sins, during their whole lives, upon forty seven festivals, without reckoning fundays.

And yet this strange abuse seems to have been derived from the antient laws of the several European nations, those of the Franks, the Saxons, and the Burgundians. The papal court had not adopted this estimate of sins and dispensations, till the times of anarchy, and when the popes durst no longer reside at Rome. Never did any council rank the taxation of sins among the articles of faith.

Among

Among the abuses of those times some were shocking, and others ridiculous. They who said, that the building ought to be repaired, but not pulled down, seemed to give a proper answer to the outcries of the multitude. The great number of poor men, who were obliged to take an infinite deal of pains to maintain their wives and children; and the numerous crowd of artificers and husbandmen, who earned their bread by the sweat of their brow; with indignation beheld those lazy monks surrounded with the pomp and luxury of sovereigns. They were told that luxury is the means of circulating riches in the public: that the effeminate life of those monks, far from disturbing, rather strengthened the internal peace of the church: and even had their abuses been greater, still they were less dangerous, without doubt, than the calamities of war, and the sacking of towns. Some may object the opinion of Machiavel, the oracle of those who are directed by politics only. In his discourses on Livy he says, that *if the Italians in his time were excessively wicked, it was all owing to religion and the priests.* But it is evident that he could not mean religious wars, since there were none at that time. These words can allude only to the villainous and corrupt court of Alexander VI, and to the ambition of several of the clergy; which is quite foreign from the articles of faith, from the religious disputes, from the persecutions, the rebellions, and the rage of theological aversion, productive of so many murders.

Even Venice herself, though reckoned the wisest government in Europe, is said to have encouraged the indolence and luxury of her clergy, to the end that being less respected, they might not have it in their power to influence the people. There were however at this very time men of strict morals in all countries, as well as worthy pastors, and strict observers of monastic vows which frighten human effeminacy:

but virtues of this kind lye buried in obscurity, while luxury and vice make a splendid riot.

The magnificence and voluptuousness of the court of *Leo X.* must have shocked the public; but at the same time it was visible, that this court was polishing Europe, and improving every social virtue. Since the persecution against the Hussites, religion had occasioned no disturbance. The inquisition indeed exercised great severities against the Mahometans and the Jews; but these are not universal evils, by which nations are subverted. Most Christians lived happy in their ignorance. There were not ten gentlemen perhaps in Europe that had a bible: this book was not so much as translated into any vulgar language; or at least the translations, that had been made in some few countries, were not known.

The superior clergy entirely intent upon their temporal affairs, knew how to enjoy life, and not to dispute. It may be said that *Leo X.* by the encouragement he gave to learning, furnished arms against himself. I have heard an English nobleman affirm, that he had seen a letter from cardinal Pool to that pope, wherein he congratulated him upon his success in the propagation of literature, but at the same time reminded him that it was of dangerous consequence to make mankind too learned. *Leo X.* had not the least apprehension of the revolution which happened in his time in the Christian world; a revolution owing at first to his magnificence, and to one of the noblest undertakings that can perpetuate the memory of sovereigns.

His predecessor *Julius II.* under whose reign painting and architecture had received such great improvements was desirous that Rome should be adorned with a temple superior to *S. Sophia* at Constantinople, in a word, the most beautiful that ever existed. He had the courage to undertake,
what

what he could never live to see finished. Leo X. was extremely fond of this noble project. But it required a great deal of money, and his magnificence had exhausted his finances. All Christendom ought to have contributed to the erecting of this wonder of the metropolis of Europe. But money for public undertakings is never obtained except by compulsion or artifice. Therefore Leo X. had recourse, if I may be permitted the expression, to one of St. Peter's keys, with which the coffers of good Christians had been sometimes opened, to replenish those of the pope.

Under the pretence of a war against the Turks, he set up a sale in all parts of Christendom, of what they call *indulgences*, that is, a release from the pains of purgatory, either for yourself, or for your friends and relations. A public sale of this kind shews the spirit of the times. It created no sort of surprize; offices of indulgences were opened in all parts; and they were farmed or leased out like custom-house duties. Most of those offices were kept in alehouses: by which means the preacher, the farmer, and the distributor of the indulgences, were all gainers. The pope gave part of the money arising from this sale to his sister; and nobody as yet complained. The preachers declared openly from the pulpit, *that even if they were to ravish the Virgin Mary, they should be forgiven upon purchasing the indulgences*; and the people listened to those words with devotion. But this farm in Germany happening to be given to the Dominicans, the Augustinians who had been long in possession of it, grew jealous; and this little clashing of interests between those two orders of friars in a corner of Saxony, proved the source of fury, discord, and all manner of misfortunes that have afflicted most parts of Europe upwards of two hundred years.

C H A P. CVII.

Of Luther and Zuinglius.

YOU are not ignorant that this great revolution in the intellectual and political system of Europe, began with Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, who was commissioned by his superiors to preach against a merchandise, which they had not been permitted to vend themselves. The quarrel was at first betwixt the Austin and Black friars.

Had Luther been told at that time, that he should extirpate the Roman religion out of one half of Europe, he never would have believed it. He went farther than he at first intended, as it happens in all disputes, and indeed in most affairs.

After railing against the indulgences, he 1517. proceeded to examine into the power of the person who granted them. Part of the veil was removed: the people being once set on, would fain judge of what they had hitherto adored. The shocking crimes of Alexander VI. and his family had occasioned no doubts in regard to the pope's spiritual power; three hundred thousand pilgrims flocked to Rome to his jubilee. But the times were changed; things were come to a crisis. Leo's pleasures paid for Alexander's crimes. The people began with calling out for a reform, and concluded with an intire separation. They knew that men in power do not care to reform. It was the authority and the riches of the clergy that they aimed at; it was the yoke of Roman taxes that they wanted to abolish. And indeed what did it signify to the inhabitants of Stockholm, Copenhagen, London, or Dresden, whether the Romans took their pleasure, or not? But it signified greatly whether they were to pay exorbitant taxes to Rome,

Rome, or whether the archbishop of Upsal was to be master of a whole kingdom. The revenues of the archbishop of Magdeburg, and of such a number of rich abbies, were a bait to the secular princes. The separation which ensued, as it were, of itself, and for very trivial causes, has at length in some measure produced the reformation so loudly called for, without answering any end. The manners of the court of Rome are become more decent, and the French clergy more learned. It must be in general allowed that the ecclesiastics of the church of Rome have been reformed by the protestants, just as two rivals become more circumspect by their jealousy of each other.

To effect this great schism, there was nothing wanting but a prince to encourage the people. The old elector of Saxony, Frederick surnamed the wise, that very prince, who after the decease of Maximilian, had the magnanimity to refuse the Imperial diadem, took Luther under his protection. This revolution in the church began like all those, by which the people dethrone their sovereigns. They present petitions and addresses, then they set forth grievances, and conclude with subverting the throne. There had been no separation as yet in laughing at indulgences, in desiring the eucharist to be administered in both kinds, in asserting some unintelligible nonsense about justification and free-will, in proposing the dissolution of abbies, and in offering to prove that the scripture no where makes express mention of purgatory.

Leo X, who in his own mind had a great 1520. contempt for these disputes, was obliged as pope to publish a bull, solemnly anathematizing the above propositions. Little did he know that Luther was secretly protected in Germany. He should, as he was advised, have given him a cardinal's hat to make him alter his opinion. The contempt

tempt in which they held him, proved fatal to Rome.

Luther no longer kept any measure with the pope. He composed his book *of the Babylonish captivity*; he exhorted all princes to throw off the papal yoke; he railed against private masses; and met with the greater applause, as he inveighed against the public sale of them. The Mendicant friars had rendered those masses fashionable in the 13th century; the people paid for them, as they still continue to do, when they order them to be celebrated. It is still a small stipend on which the poor friars and country curates subsist. This slender fee, hardly indeed worth envying, had been settled on those who live by the altar and on charity; it was then about two sous in France, and less still in Germany. Transubstantiation was exploded as a word which could neither be found in scripture nor in the primitive fathers. Luther's adherents pretended that the doctrine which annihilates the substance and leaves only the form and appearance of bread and wine, was not generally received in the church till the pontificate of Gregory VII. and that the first who broached and explained this opinion, was Paschasius Rathbert, a Benedictine monk of the ninth century. They rummaged into the dark archives of antiquity, to find out pretences for separating from the church of Rome, in regard to mysteries which weak mortals can never fathom. Luther preserved one part of the mystery, and rejected the other. He acknowledges that the body of Christ is in the consecrated elements: but it is there, he says, as fire is in a red hot iron; the fire and the iron subsist together. This manner of being confounded with the bread and wine, Osiander distinguished by the name of *impanation*, *invination*, and *consubstantiation*. Luther was content to say that the body and blood were in, with, and under, *in, cum, sub*.

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The Dominicans, supported by the pope's nuncios in Germany, caused his books to be burnt. The pope thundered out a new bull against him. Luther ordered the pope's bull and the decretals to be burnt in the public market place at Wittemberg. This specimen shews that he was a bold man; but it shews likewise that he 1520. must have been at that time well supported. Part of Germany, tired of the papal grandeur, were already in the reformer's interest, without giving themselves much trouble about the scholastic disputes.

In the mean while those disputes were increasing. The question about free-will, that other rock on which human reason has so often split, proved an endless source of nonsensical quarrels, to supply the torrent of theological hatred. Luther denied free-will, which his followers have since granted. The universities of Lovain and Paris wrote against him. The latter suspended for a while her old dispute, whether there were three Mary Magdalens or only one, to condemn the opinions of Luther.

Aristotle must be dragged into the quarrel; for at that time he was sovereign of the schools. Luther having affirmed that Aristotle's doctrine was of no manner of use towards understanding the scripture, the sacred faculty of Paris treated this assertion, as erroneous and absurd. The most silly propositions were intermixed with those of most importance; and on both sides the animosity was kept up by false accusations, furious invectives, and anathemas.

It is impossible to read, without indignation, the manner in which Luther treats all his adversaries, but especially the pope. *Little pope, little, little pope, you are an ass, a lubberly ass, walk softly, it is slippery, you will break your legs, and then people will say, what the devil is this? the little ass of a little pope is lamed; an ass knows it is an ass, a stone knows*

knows it is a stone; but these little asses of popes do not know that they are asses. This low abuse, which appears so shockingly contemptible to us, went down well enough in that rude part of the world. Luther with all this scurrility and barbarous stile, triumphed in his own country over the Roman politeness.

Capricious fortune, which sports with the affairs of this world, would have it that the king of England Henry VIII. should be concerned in this dispute. His father had taken care to have him instructed in the vain and foolish learning of that time.

The subtleties of the schools had been greatly relished by the young king Henry, a prince of strong passions, and a choleric disposition. He wanted to write against Luther; but first he asked leave of Leo X. to read the books of that heresiarch, which were prohibited upon pain of excommunication. Leo X. indulges him. The king writes a comment upon St. Thomas; and defends the seven sacraments against Luther, who at that time admitted three, which were soon reduced to two. The book is finished in a hurry and sent to Rome. The pope in raptures compares this book, which nobody in our time knows any thing of, to the writings of Austin and Jerome. He bestowed the title of defender of the faith on king Henry and his successors. And on whom did he bestow it? On the very person, who a few years after proved the most inveterate enemy of Rome.

In Italy very few espoused Luther's cause. That ingenious nation, intent upon intrigue and pleasure, took no share in these troubles. The Spaniards, notwithstanding their vivacity, and wit, kept themselves quiet. The French, though they have the sensibility of those nations with a stronger passion for novelty, were nevertheless a long while before they engaged in the quarrel. The scene of this intellectual

tellectual war was confined to the Germans and Swiss, who were not famed in those days for bright parts, and are reckoned a cautious people. Little did the learned, the polite court of Rome expect, that those whom she treated as barbarians, should be able with bible and sword in hand, to strip her of one half of Europe, and to shake the other to the lowest foundation.

It is a problem, whether Charles V, at that time emperor, ought to have embraced, or opposed the reformation. By throwing off the yoke of Rome, he would have at once taken ample revenge for the many injuries, which the papal tiara had done to the Imperial crown for upwards of four hundred years; but on the other hand he would have been in danger of losing Italy. He was obliged to keep fair with the pope, who was to join with him against Francis I. Besides the inhabitants of his hereditary dominions were all catholics. He has been even charged with taking pleasure at the rise of a faction, which gave him an opportunity to raise taxes and troops in the empire, and to crush the catholics, as well as Lutherans, under his absolute authority. At length his interest and dignity engaged him to declare against Luther, though perhaps he was of that reformer's way of thinking in regard to some articles, as the Spaniards suspected after his decease.

He summoned Luther to give an account of his doctrine before the Imperial diet at Worms, that is, to come and declare whether he maintained those tenets, which had been condemned at Rome. Luther appeared with the emperor's safe conduct, and boldly exposed himself to the same fate as that John of Hufs; but this assembly being composed of princes, he trusted to their honour. He spoke before the emperor and the diet, and 1521. defended his doctrine with great resolution. It is said that Charles V, was solicited by Alexander the

the pope's nuncio to order Luther to be seized, notwithstanding his safe conduct; as Sigismund had delivered up John Huss without regard to public faith: but that Charles made answer, *he did not chuse to have cause to blush like Sigismund.*

Luther nevertheless, though he had the emperor, the king of England, the pope, and all the bishops and monks against him, was not dismayed. Concealed in a Saxon fortress, he defied the emperor, excited one half of Germany against the pope, boldly answered the king of England, and finally confirmed and extended his infant church.

Frederick, the old elector of Saxony, being desirous of the extirpation of the Romish religion, Luther thought it high time to proceed to the suppression of private masses. He set about it in such a manner, as in times of less ignorance would not have met with great applause. He pretended that the devil had appeared to him, and reproached him with saying mass and consecrating the host. The devil proved to him, he said, that it was idolatry. Luther in the recital of this pretended apparition, acknowledged that the devil was in the right, and therefore ought to be believed. The mass was abolished in the town of Wittenberg, and soon after throughout Saxony. The images were broke to pieces; the monks and nuns quitted their cloisters; and a few years after Luther married a nun, whose name was Catharine Bore. The clergy of the old communion reproached him with not being able to live without a wife. Luther answered them, that they could not live without concubines. Those reproaches were very different on both sides. The catholic priests, when accused of incontinency, were forced to acknowledge, that they transgressed against the discipline of the universal church. Luther and his adherents were changing this discipline.

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The law of history obliges me to do justice to most of those monks, who deserted their convents to enter into the state of matrimony. It is true, they resumed the liberty of which they had made a sacrifice; and they broke their vows: but they were far from being libertines; neither could they be charged with dissolute morals. The same impartiality obliges us to acknowledge, that Luther and the other monks could no more be said to violate their vows by venturing upon matrimony, a state of life so useful to government; than they who having made a vow of poverty, live notwithstanding in pomp and opulence.

Among those who declaimed loudly against Luther, many in an ironical strain took notice, that he who had consulted the devil to suppress the mass, expressed his gratitude to that same devil, by abolishing exorcisms*, and that he wanted to break down every fence that had been raised against the common enemy of mankind. It has been since observed where ever they have left off exorcising, that there have been no more instances of people possessed by the devil, nor of forcerers or witches. The devils were said to be very bad politicians, in taking shelter only among catholics, who alone had a coercive power over them. And it is remarked, that there has been a prodigious number of conjurers and people possessed by the devil in the church of Rome, till very lately. But this is too melancholy a subject to afford room for merriment. The misery of so many families, and the punishment of such a multitude of wretches, are subjects of a most serious nature; and it is a great blessing to mankind, that the courts of justice, in countries where

* An exorcism is the casting out evil spirits by certain forms of Adjuration.

where any ray of knowledge has pervaded, no longer take cognizance of possessions by the devil, nor of witchcraft. The reformers removed this stumbling block two hundred years before the catholics. They were charged with striking at the foundations of the Christian religion; they were told that the casting out devils, and witchcraft are positively admitted in scripture; that Christ cast out devils, and particularly that he sent his apostles to cast them out in his name. To this pressing objection they gave the same answer as all prudent magistrates give in our times, that God heretofore permitted things which he now ceases to permit; that the church stood in need of miracles in its infancy, which it no longer wants, now that it is established.

Switzerland was the first country out of Germany, that embraced the new sect, who were called the primitive church. Zuinglius curate of Zurich carried things farther even than Luther; he allowed of no *impanation*, no *invination*. He did not grant that God entered into the bread and wine, much less that the entire body and blood of Christ was in each particle or drop. He was called in France a *sacramentist*, a name afterwards given to his whole sect.

Zuinglius incurred the censure of the ecclesiastics of his country. The affair was brought before the magistrates; and the senate of Zurich tried the cause as if it had been about a matter of property.

They proceeded by votes; and the plurality 1523. determined for the reformation. The people were assembled, waiting for the decision of the senate, when the town-clerk comes out and tells them that Zuinglius had gained his cause. In a moment they all declared themselves of the religion of the senate. Thus a little Swiss town passed sentence on Rome. Happy people whose simplicity

city made them rely on their magistrates, for the decision of what neither themselves, nor the magistrates, nor Zuinglius could thoroughly understand.

Some years after this, Berne, a place of 1528. the same weight in Switzerland, as Amsterdam is in the United Provinces, determined this very cause in a more solemn manner. The senate after a hearing of both parties, which lasted two months, condemned the Romish religion. The sentence was readily assented to by the whole canton: they erected a column, on which was engraved in gold letters this solemn judgment, which has ever since continued in full force.

The magistrates of Berne and Zurich had given a religion to the people; but the people of Basil oblige the magistrates to receive a religion from them. At that time there were thirteen Swiss cantons. Five of the smallest and poorest, namely Lucerne, Zug, Switz, Uri, and Underwald, having adhered to the church of Rome, began a civil war against the rest. This was the first religious war betwixt the catholics and the reformed. The curate Zuinglius putting himself at the head 1531. of the protestant army, was killed in the engagement: by his own party he was considered as a holy martyr, and by the opposite side as a detestable heretic. The catholics being victorious, ordered his body to be quartered by the common executioner, and afterwards thrown into the flames. This is only a prelude to the frantic barbarities, which were afterwards exercised on the account of religion.

This famous reformer Zuinglius, while he established his sect seemed more zealous for liberty than religion. He believed that moral virtue was sufficient for the attainment of future happiness, and that Cato and St. Paul, Numa and Abraham, enjoyed

joyed the same bliss. His religion was afterwards called Calvinism, a name it took from Calvin, as the new world discovered by Columbus was denominated from Americus Vesputius. Thus there started up in a few years three new churches; that of Luther, that of Zuinglius, and that of England, separated from the center of unity, and under a distinct government of their own. The Gallican church, without parting from the head, was yet considered at Rome as a separate body, in respect to a great many articles, as the authority of councils, the pope's infallibility, the rights of episcopacy, the power of legates, the nomination to benefices, and the taxes demanded by the court of Rome. Thus the great society of Christians in some measure resembled the profane empires, which in their first beginning were poor republics, those republics in time grew up to be opulent monarchies; and those monarchies lost some provinces, which reverted to their republican State.

C H A P. CVIII.

Progress of Lutheranism in Sweden, Denmark and Germany.

DENMARK and Sweden embraced the Lutheran religion. The Swedes in shaking off the yoke of the bishops of the Roman communion, were influenced chiefly by motives of revenge. Long oppressed by their prelates, and especially by the archbishop of Upsal, primate of the kingdom, they were still higher provoked at the barbarity committed but three years before, by the last archbishop whose name was Troll. This archbishop was minister and accomplice of Christian II. surnamed the Nero.

Nero of the North, tyrant of Denmark and Sweden. He was a monster of cruelty, full as detestable as Christian. He had obtained the pope's bull against the senate of Stockholm, for opposing his depredations, as well as Christian's usurpation; but after matters had been accommodated, and the tyrants Christian and the archbishop had taken the sacrament to forget all that had passed, the king invited two bishops, the whole senate, and ninety four lords to sup with him at his palace. The tables were covered, and mirth and jollity were diffused all round, when Christian and the archbishop went out. They returned a moment after, followed by guards and executioners: the archbishop with the pope's bull in hand, caused all the company to be butchered. They ripped open the belly of the grand prior of St. John of Jerusalem, and plucked out his heart.

This feast of the two tyrants concluded with a general massacre of all ranks of people without distinction of age or sex.

These monsters, who deserved to suffer at least the same punishment as the grand prior of St. John, died in their beds. Christian however was deposed: the famous Gustavus Vasa, as we have related in our account of Sweden, delivered his country of the tyrant; and the four states of the kingdom having decreed to give him the crown, he 1523. exterminated a religion, of which such a handle had been made to perpetrate the most horrid crimes.

Lutheranism was therefore soon established without opposition in Sweden, and in Denmark, immediately after the tyrant had been expelled both kingdoms.

Luther was now the apostle of the North, an honour which he quietly enjoyed. So early as the year 1525 the states of Saxony, Brunswick, Hesse
Cassel,

Cassel, and the cities of Strasburg and Frankfort, embraced his doctrine.

It is certain that the church of Rome had need of a reformation; this was allowed even by pope Adrian, successor of Leo X. It is also certain that unless there was some authority in the Christian world to determine the sense of scripture and the dogmas of religion, there would be as many sects as there are men that know how to read. For the divine legislator did not think proper to write any thing himself: his disciples have wrote but little, and in such a manner that it is sometimes very difficult to understand them; almost every word may be productive of a quarrel.

But the German reformers, who wanted to follow the gospel literally, exhibited an extraordinary kind of spectacle some years after: they dispensed with a positive law, such as seemed to be liable to no misinterpretation, that of having but one wife at a time; a law on which the repose of states and families throughout all Christendom is founded.

Philip, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the second protector of the Lutheran religion, wanted to marry a young lady, named Catharine Saal, in his wife's life time. What is more extraordinary, it appears by original papers that this prince had some scruple of conscience in the affair. This indeed is one of the strongest examples of the weakness of human understanding. The landgrave, in other respects a man of good sense, seemed to believe sincerely, that with the permission of Luther and his companions, he might break through a law, which he himself acknowledged to be divine. He therefore represented to those heads of the Protestant church, that his wife, the princess of Saxony, *was ugly, bad bad smells about her, and often got drunk.* He then confesses very ingenuously that he has frequently been guilty of fornication, and that his temperament of body laid him
under

under a necessity of gratifying his pleasure: but in what follows he is not so ingenuous, for he artfully gives his doctors to understand, that unless they will grant him the dispensation, perhaps he shall ask it of the pope.

Luther convoked a little synod at Wittemberg, composed of six reformers: they were sensible that they were going to set aside a law acknowledged as such by their whole party. The examples of polygamy heretofore given by Christian princes, had been always considered as an abuse. Though the emperor Valentinian the elder married Justina, while his wife Severa was living; though several of the kings of the Franks had had two or three wives at a time, this transgression of the law was no authority. The synod of Wittemberg did not consider marriage as a sacrament, but as a civil contract: they said that the discipline of the church admits of a divorce, though the gospel forbids it: they said again, that the gospel no where in express terms commands monogamy: be that as it may, they were so well convinced of the scandal it would create, that they concealed it as much as possible from the public eye. The permission of polygamy was signed; the concubine was married even with the consent of the lawful wife; and Luther, without commission or authority, did what the popes had never dared to do, notwithstanding their exorbitant power, against which he himself had so highly declaimed. His dispensation was kept secret; but time brings all things to light. If this precedent has had no consequence, it is because of the difficulty there is for a man to keep two wives under one roof: their jealousy would be ever productive of domestic jars, and must make three persons unhappy. The privilege of polygamy in the East, is of all others made the least use of by private people. They have concubines: but there
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are not four Turks at Constantinople, that have more than one wife.

Had the new opinions been productive only of such harmless scandal, the world would have been still extremely happy; but Germany was doomed to more tragic scenes.

C H A P. CIX.

Of the Anabaptists.

TWO men, whose names were Storck and Muncer, natives of Saxony, laid hold of some passages of scripture, which declare, that without inspiration one cannot be a disciple of Christ, and therefore they pretended to be inspired.

These were the first enthusiasts mentioned in those times; they condemned infant baptism, and rebaptised those that entered into their communion, because Christ was baptised at full age; and this is what gave them the name of anabaptists. They said they were inspired, that they had been sent to reform the Roman and Lutheran communions, and to put every one to death who would oppose their gospel, grounding themselves on these words of scripture, *I am come not to send peace but a sword.*

Luther had succeeded in exciting the princes nobility and magistrates against the pope and the bishops. Muncer made the peasants rise against them all. He and his disciples addressed themselves to the inhabitants of the open country in Swabia, Misnia, Thuringia, and Franconia. They developed this dangerous truth which is implanted in every breast, that mankind are all by nature equal, and that the pope, it is true, used to behave to princes as to his subjects, but that the nobility treated the peasants as brutes.

We

We must confess that the demands of the anabaptists, digested into writing in the name of the peasants of Germany, were very just; but it was letting wild beats loose, to draw up a 1523. manifesto in their name. The cruelty heretofore exercised by the common people in France and England at the time of Charles VI. was renewed in Germany, and heightened by the spirit of fanaticism. While those savage brutes were preaching equality and reformation, they ravaged every place they came to, from Saxony to Lorrain. At length they met with the fate of all riotous multitudes, that have no skilful leader: after having done an infinite deal of mischief, they were cut in pieces by regular troops. Muncer, who wanted to be a second Mahomet, died by the hands of the executioner at Mulhausen. 1525. Luther who had no immediate share in those violent proceedings, but was nevertheless the first cause of them, since he was the first that broke down the barrier of submission, Luther, I say, lost no part of his credit, but still continued to be a prophet in his own country.

CHAP. CX.

The subject of Lutheranism and Anabaptism continued.

IT was no longer possible either for Charles V. or for his brother Ferdinand, to stop the progress of the reformers. In vain did the diet of Spire endeavour to moderate the matter 1529. by articles of pacification. Fourteen cities and several princes protested against this edict; and from this protest all the enemies of Rome took the name of protestants: Lutherans, Zuinglians, Oecolampadians,

lampadians, Carlostadians, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Puritans, the high and low church of England, are all comprehended under this name. It is an immense republic composed of different factions, which unite nevertheless against Rome their common enemy.

The Lutherans presented their confession of faith at Augsburg; this confession became, as it were, the compass by which they have been guided: and one third of Germany have adhered to it. The princes of this persuasion were already in league against the authority of Charles V. as well as against Rome; but there had been no blood as yet spilt in the empire on the account of Luther: the anabaptists were the only people, who still transported by a superstitious fury, and not in the least deterred by the example of Muncer their teacher, laid Germany waste in the name of God. Fanaticism had never yet

1530. produced the like degree of phrenzy: those peasants who looked upon themselves as prophets, and who knew no more of scripture, than that the enemies of the Lord ought to be put to the sword without mercy, were become the predominant party in Westphalia, at that time the centre of stupidity. Having taken possession of the city of Munster and expelled the bishop, they wanted at first to establish something like the Jewish theocracy, and to be governed by God alone: but Matthew, their chief prophet, being killed, a journeyman tailor, called Jack of Leyden, from the place of his nativity in Holland, assured them that God had appeared to him, and appointed him king: he said it, and they believed him.

The ceremony of his coronation was performed with magnificence. There are still some medals extant, which he caused to be struck on that occasion; on the reverse were two swords in the same

same position as the pope's keys. Thus being monarch and prophet, both at the same time, he deputed twelve apostles, to proclaim his reign through all lower Germany. As for himself, he would have several wives, after the example of the kings of Israel, and he went so far as to marry seventeen at a time. One of those women happening to say something against his authority, he cut off her head in the presence of the rest, who whether through fear or fanaticism, danced with him around their companion's corpse, as it lay reeking with blood.

This king and prophet had a virtue not uncommon among banditti and tyrants, which was valour: he defended Munster against its bishop Waldeck, a whole year with the greatest intrepidity; and during the extremities to which he was reduced by famine, he refused 1535. to listen to any terms of accommodation. At length he was taken with his sword in his hand, by the treachery of his own people. Captivity did not pull down his undaunted spirit. Upon the bishop's asking him how he had dared to set up for king? the prisoner asked him in his turn, what right a bishop had to be temporal lord? I was elected, said the prelate, by my chapter; and I by the Almighty himself, replied Jack of Leyden. After he had been carried about as a shew, from town to town, as they would exhibit a monster, the bishop ordered him to be put to death with red hot pincers. The enthusiasm of the anabaptists did not end with the punishment inflicted on their king and his companions: their brethren in the Netherlands were very near surprizing the city of Amsterdam; but the plot was discovered and as many of the conspirators as could be seized, were put to death. This sect subsists to this very day; but intirely different from what it was originally: The successors of those bloody fanatics

are the most peaceable set of people in the world; entirely intent upon their trade and manufactures; extremely industrious and charitable. There is no instance in history of so great a change: but as they make no figure at present in the world, the public do not trouble their heads to inquire whether they are changed or not, whether they are wicked or honest men.

C H A P. CXI.

Of Geneva and Calvin.

WHILE the anabaptists were rendering themselves so odious to all Europe, the protestants merited the public esteem, by the manner in which the reformation was established in several parts. The magistrates of Geneva ordered public disputations to be held the whole month of June, to which both catholics and protestants were invited 1535. from all countries. There were four secretaries, to take down in writing every material argument, that should be urged on either side of the question: afterwards the common council of the town spent two months, in examining into the merits of the cause. It was very near in this same manner that they had proceeded at Zurich and Berne, but not so juridically, and with less deliberation and ceremony. At length the council condemned the Romish religion; and there is still to be seen at the town house this inscription engraved on a brazen table: *in remembrance of the divine goodness, which hath enabled us to shake off the yoke of anticrist, to abolish superstition and to recover our liberty.*

Accordingly the inhabitants of Geneva recovered their real liberty. The bishop who contested

tested the sovereignty of Geneva with the duke of Savoy and the people, after the example of a number of German prelates, was obliged to run away, and to leave the citizens in possession of the government. There had been two parties in the town for some time, the protestants and the Roman catholics. The protestants were called *Egnots*, from the word *Eidgnossen*, allied by oath. The *Egnots* having obtained the superiority, drew part of the opposite faction over to their side, and expelled the rest. Hence it is that the French protestants had the name of *Egnots* or *Huguenots*, a term for which several idle etymologies have been since invented by French writers.

This religion of Geneva was not absolutely the same as that of the Swiss: but the difference is inconsiderable: and it never altered their communion. The famous Calvin, whom we look upon as the apostle of Geneva, had no share in this change: he retired some time after to this town, but was soon expelled, his doctrine not being in every respect conformable to the established religion; he returned, and was pope of the protestant party.

This reformer, whose right name was Chauvin, came into the world at Noyan in 1509. He understood Latin, Greek, and the wretched philosophy of his own time. He wrote better, but was a worse speaker than Luther: they were both laborious and austere, but withal inflexible and violent in their temper: they had both a strong desire to distinguish themselves, and to attain that absolute power over consciences, which is so flattering to human pride, and transforms a theologian into a kind of conqueror.

The vulgar sort of catholics, who know in general that Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin were married, and that Luther was obliged to let the

landgrave of Hesse Cassel have two wives, are apt to imagine that those founders of the reformed religion insinuated themselves into the people's favour by flattery and deceit, and that they eased mankind of a heavy yoke, to substitute a very light one in its stead : but it is quite the reverse. They were men of forbidding address, and morose in their conversation. It is true they condemned the celibacy of the clergy, and they set open the doors of religious houses ; but it was to change human society into monasteries. Plays and publick shews were forbid among the reformed. Geneva upwards of two hundred years has tolerated no instrumental musick. They put down auricular confession, but obliged the people to confess their sins in public. In Switzerland, Scotland, and Geneva, public confession and public penance have always gone hand in hand. The method to have many followers, at least now a days, is not by proposing a plain easy way to heaven ; he who lays down the most rigid rules, will have the most numerous audience. They deprived man of free-will, and the multitude ran after them. Neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor any of the rest, understood the matter of the eucharist : one, as I have already mentioned, saw God in the bread and wine, just like the fire in red hot iron ; the other like a dove, in which resided the holy Ghost. Calvin quarrelled at first with the people of Geneva, who received the communion in leavened bread ; he was for having it unleavened. From thence he withdrew to Strasburg, for he could not return to France, where the fires were already lighted, and where Francis I suffered the protestants of his own kingdom to be burnt, while he concluded alliances with those of Germany. Having married the widow of an anabaptist at Strasburg, he returned at length to Geneva, where he worked

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ed himself into as high a degree of credit, as Luther had acquired in Saxony.

He settled the doctrine and discipline of those we call Calvinists in Holland, Swisserland, and England: this was the sect that divided France for such a number of years. It was he that established synods, consistories, and deacons; and that regulated the form of prayer and public preaching: he even instituted a consistorial jurisdiction, with the right of excommunication.

Calvin's religion is agreeable to republican principles; and yet he himself had the spirit of a tyrant.

This appears by the persecution he raised against Castalio, a man of greater learning than himself, whom he caused to be expelled from Geneva through jealousy; and by the cruel death which at his instigation was inflicted many years afterwards on the unfortunate Michael Servetus.

C H A P. CXII.

Of Calvin and Servetus.

MICHAEL Servetus of Villanueva in Arragon, was a learned physician, who deserved the public esteem, for having, long before Hervey, discovered the circulation of the blood: but he neglected an useful profession for dangerous studies. He took it into his head to write about the prefiguration of Christ in the verb, the hypostatic union, the divine vision, the substance of angels, and the superior manducation: particularly he adopted the antient dogmas of Eusebius and Arius, which having been predominant in the East, were embraced in the sixteenth century by Lelio Socini, and afterwards by great numbers in Poland, England, and Holland.

He was so frank and open, that from Vienne in Dauphiné, where he resided some time, he wrote to Calvin concerning the Trinity. At first they disputed by letters; from disputing Calvin proceeded to personal abuse, and from personal abuse to theological hatred, of all others the most implacable. Servetus was printing a work of his own in private; Calvin having by some artifice procured the sheets, as they came from the press, sent them to Lyons together with Servetus's letters, an action alone sufficient to stigmatize him for ever; for the laws of society are surely more sacred than the injunctions of all the synods in the world. He employed one of his emissaries to accuse Servetus. Strange conduct for an apostle! Servetus sensible of the severity of the laws of France against reformers, saved himself by flight, while they were carrying on the prosecution against him. Unfortunately he passed through Geneva; Calvin apprized of it, informs against him, and gets him seized. But as at Geneva there is a law, which ought to be imitated in all governments, that the accuser shall be confined as well as the accused; Calvin made one of his disciples, who was at the same time his domestic, act the informer.

When his enemy was in jail, he went and insulted him in the most contumelious language, such as is generally used by cowards, after they have got the upper hand. At length by soliciting the judges, by using the credit of those who were under his direction, by declaring loudly, and by making others declare that God demanded the execution of Michael Servetus, he caused him to be burnt alive, and triumphed at his punishment, he, who if he had set foot in France, would have been burnt himself, he who had raised so loud an outcry against persecution.

But

But what increases our indignation and pity, is that Servetus in the works which he published himself acknowledges in plain terms the eternal divinity of Christ. Calvin to destroy this unfortunate man, produced some of his private letters to his friends written long before that time, in bold terms.

This deplorable catastrophe did not happen till 1555, twenty years after Geneva had passed sentence upon the Romish religion: but my reason for placing it here, is to give the reader a better idea of the character of Calvin, who was the apostle of Geneva, and of the French reformed. One would think that they are now endeavouring to appease the manes of Servetus. Many learned pastors, and great philosophers, of the protestant communion, have embraced Servetus's Sentiments and those of Socinus. Nay, they have gone further: their religion is the adoration of one God, by the mediation of Christ. But for our part we only relate facts and opinions, without entering into religious controversy, without disputing against any body, paying respect where it is due, and intirely attached to historical fidelity.

The last stroke in Calvin's character may be taken from a letter in his hand writing, which is still preserved in the castle of Bastie-Roland near Montelimar: it is directed to the marquis of Poet, lord Chamberlain to the king of Navarre, and dated the 30th of September 1561.

" May honour, glory, and riches be the reward
 " of your trouble: above all be sure you don't fail
 " to clear the country of those pitiful zealots,
 " who are exciting the people to revolt against
 " us. Such monsters as those ought to be des-
 " troyed, as I dealt with Michael Servetus the
 " Spaniard."

Few men are without some virtue to counter-
 balance their vices. Calvin with all his cruelty

was most disinterested ; his whole fortune when he died, amounted to no more than an hundred and twenty crowns. Indefatigable application shortened his days, but gained him a high degree of credit, and has rendered his name immortal.

There are some of Luther's letters, which breathe as little peace or charity, as those of Calvin. The catholics cannot comprehend how the protestants should acknowledge such apostles : the protestants make answer, that they do not invoke those as saints, who contributed to establish their reformation ; that they are neither Lutherans, nor Zuinglians, nor Calvinists ; that they think they follow the doctrine of the primitive church ; that they are far from canonizing the passions of Luther or Calvin ; and that the disagreeable character of those men, is no more a reason for prejudicing the reformed against their opinions, than the manners of Alexander VI, and Leo X, and the persecutions for religion, are an objection against the church of Rome with a sensible catholic.

This is a wise answer ; and indeed the spirit of moderation seems to have succeeded the animosity of both parties. If the same sanguinary disposition had continued to preside over religion, Europe would have been by this time one great church-yard. At length the spirit of philosophy has blunted the edge of their swords. But what necessity was there for a madness of two hundred years, to arrive at a few days happiness ?

Those disputes being decided by the sword, put the laity in possession of great part of the church lands, but did not enrich the Theologians, who promoted the war. They had the fate of those who found a charge, without sharing the spoils. The pastors of the protestant churches had declaimed so vehemently against the riches of the clergy, that it would have been very unbecoming
of

of them to take up with what they condemned; therefore most states laid hold of this opportunity to prevent their being opulent. The Calvinistical and Lutheran clergy have had such incomes allowed them, as are inconsistent with luxury. The abbey lands in most countries have been seized on by the government, and applied to the support of hospitals. Lubeck and Osnabrug are the only rich protestant bishoprics in Germany, whose revenues have not been secularized. When you come to enquire into the consequences of this revolution, you will see the whimsical but pacific agreement, by which the treaty of Westphalia has rendered this bishopric of Osnabrug alternately Catholic and Lutheran. In England the reformation was more favourable to the clergy, than it has been in Germany, Swisserland, and the Low Countries. The English bishoprics are all considerable; and the benefices are such as a man may genteelly live upon. The country clergy are more at their ease than in France; the government and the laity have profited by the dissolution of the abbies only. There are entire parishes in London, heretofore occupied by a single convent, and now filled with a multitude of families. In general, every nation that has converted the religious houses to the public use, hath gained thereby, humanly speaking, and nobody has been injured. For indeed nothing is taken from a society which no longer exists. No body was hurt but the transient possessors who were ejected; and as to them, they left no descendants that can complain. It is but the injustice of a day, which has been productive of the blessings of many ages.

Yet in the midst of this confusion, and before any sort of order could be established, the two parties, the Catholics and the Lutherans were throwing
Ger-

Germany into combustion. The religion called evangelical, had been established already in 1555 in twenty four imperial cities, and in eighteen small provinces of the empire. The Lutherans would fain reduce the power of Charles V. and he wanted to destroy them. Leagues were formed, and battles were fought: but we must proceed with the revolution in matters of religion, and see in what manner the church of England was established, and how the church of France was rent and divided.

C H A P. CXIII.

Of king Henry VIII. Of the revolution of religion in England.

THAT England separated from Rome, because king Henry VIII. was of an amorous disposition, is a fact known to all Europe. What neither St. Peter's pence, nor the reservations and provisos, nor the annates or first fruits, nor the levying of taxes, nor the sale of indulgences, nor five hundred other exactions, constantly condemned by acts of parliament, and by the complaints of the people, could ever bring to pass, was produced at length, or at least occasioned by a transient amour. The first stone that was flung threw down this colossus, which had been shaken long before by the public hatred.

Henry VIII. was a voluptuous prince, obstinate and impetuous in his desires. Among other mistresses he had a liking to Anne of Bullen, a private gentleman's daughter: this young lady was of so gay a disposition, that the king might naturally expect she would grant him favours; yet she had the artifice not to yield to him, but to feed his flame to such a degree that he resolved to make her his wife.

He

He had been married now eighteen years to Catharine of Spain daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and aunt to Charles V. by whom he had had three children, one of them still living, the princess Mary, afterwards queen of England. How he is to obtain a divorce? How is he to annul a marriage with such a wife as Catharine of Spain, who could neither be reproached with infecundity, nor with criminal conduct, nor even with that peevish humour which so frequently accompanies female virtue? She had been first married to Prince Arthur, elder brother of Henry VIII; upon his death, which happened a few months after; Henry VII. had betrothed her to his second son Henry, with a dispensation from pope Julius II; and Henry VIII. after his father's decease had been solemnly married to her. Some time after that he had a bastard by a mistress whose name was Blunt; and then he had only a dislike to his wife, but no scruples: but as soon as he fell desperately in love with Anne of Bullen, and that he could not obtain his ends without marrying her, he began to have conscientious qualms, and to tremble for having offended God eighteen years by cohabiting with his wife. Submissive still to the Roman pontiffs, he solicited Clement VII, to annul the bull of Julius II, and to declare his marriage with the aunt of Charles V. contrary to divine and human laws.

Clement VII, a bastard of Julian of Medicis, had lately been witness to the plundering of Rome by the Imperialists: having afterwards with some difficulty accommodated matters with the emperor, he was still afraid lest this prince should get him deposed for illegitimacy. He could not declare the emperor's aunt a concubine, nor deprive the children of a princess, who for so many years had been a lawful wife, of their birthright.

Besides,

Besides, a pope would hardly acknowledge that his predecessor had no right to grant a dispensation: it would have been undermining the very foundation of the pontifical grandeur, had he owned that there were laws, which the pope had no power to set aside.

It is true, that Lewis XII. had caused his marriage to be dissolved; but the case was quite different. He had had no children by his wife; and pope Alexander VI, who granted this divorce was connected in interest with Lewis XII.

Francis I. king of France maintained the cause of Henry VIII. at Rome, both, as his brother-in-law, and his ally, but especially as enemy of Charles V, who was already grown too formidable. The pope thus pressed by the emperor, and those two kings, and, as he wrote himself, between hawk and buzzard, negotiated, temporized, promised, and retracted, in hopes that the passion of Henry VIII. would not last so long as an Italian negotiation. He was mistaken. The English monarch happening unfortunately to be a theologian, made that science administer to his love. He and all the doctors of his party had recourse to the book of Leviticus, which forbiddeth *the uncovering the nakedness of a brother's wife, or the marrying a wife's sister*. Christian states have long wanted, and do still want good positive laws. Their jurisprudence is in several points still Gothic, and composed of the antient customs of five hundred petty tyrants: hence they have frequently recourse to the Roman and Hebrew institutions; like a bewildered traveller, who inquires his way: they rummage into the code of the Jewish nation, for rules to direct their tribunals.

But if we are to follow the matrimonial laws of the Jews, we should follow them in every thing. We should condemn a man to death, who has carnal

carnal knowledge of his wife when she has in her menses; and we should submit to a great many ordinances, that were neither designed for our climate, nor manners, nor for the new law.

This was but the least part of the mistake in judging of Henry's marriage by the Leviticus. They omitted to take notice that in those very writings, where God seems, according to our weak way of thinking, to command things quite contrary, in order to exercise human obedience, it was not only permitted, but commanded in Deuteronomy, to marry a brother's widow, when she had no children; that the widow was empowered to summon the brother-in-law to fulfil this injunction; and that upon his refusal she was to fling a shoe at his head.

A curious and extraordinary spectacle it was, to see on one side the king of England soliciting the universities to be favourable to his amour; on the other the emperor demanding their decisions in the behalf of his aunt; and the king of France in the middle, maintaining the law of the Leviticus against that of Deuteronomy, in order to render Charles V, and Henry VIII, irreconcilable. The emperor bestowed benefices on the Italian doctors, who defended the validity of Catharine's marriage; while Henry VIII, paid every where for the opinion of those who declared in his favour. These mysteries time has brought to light: in the accounts of a secret agent for this king, whose name was Crook, we find: *to a religious of the order of Servites a crown, to two of the order of S. Francis two crowns, to the prior of S. John fifteen crowns, to the preacher John Marino twenty crowns.* Here we see that the price was different according to the weight of the doctor. This purchaser of theological opinions alledged as an excuse, that he had never bargained for them,
nor

nor given any money till after signing. At length the universities of France, and especially the Sorbonne, declared that Henry's marriage July 2, with Catharine of Arragon was illegal, 1530. and that the pope had no right to dispense with the law of Leviticus.

The agents of Henry VIII, went so far as to procure a corroboration of this opinion from the Jewish rabbies. Those people acknowledged indeed that it was ordained in Deuteronomy to marry a widow's brother: but they said that this law was only for Palestine, and that the Leviticus ought to be observed in England. The universities and rabbies in the Austrian dominions thought otherwise; but they were not consulted.

Henry strengthened by opinions which had not cost him a great deal, solicited by his mistress, tired of the pope's evasions, supported by his clergy, authorised by the universities, master of his parliament, and moreover encouraged by Francis I. prevails on Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, to declare his marriage void.

The queen having maintained her cause with modest resolution, and declined the jurisdiction of the court without exasperating the king by invectives, retires to the country, resigning her bed and throne to her rival. This lady who was two months gone with child when declared queen, made her entrance into London with a pomp as much superior to the usual magnificence, as her past fortune had been inferior to her present dignity.

Clement VII. could not then do less than grant a bull against Henry VIII. to appease the wrath of Charles V. and to defend the prerogatives of the holy see. But by this bull the pope lost 1534. the kingdom of England: for Henry shortly after obliged his clergy to declare him supreme head of their church. His parliament confirmed

firmed this title, suppressed the pope's authority, and his annates, * with St. Peter's pence, † and the provision of benefices. The people readily took a new oath to the king, called the oath of supremacy. Thus the pope's whole credit, that had been established so many ages, fell in an instant, without opposition, in spite of monkish despair.

They who had pretended that it was dangerous for a great kingdom to break with the pope, now perceived that a single blow could overturn this venerable colossus, the head of which was of gold, the feet of clay. And indeed the impositions with which the court of Rome had long harassed the English, were founded on no other right than the people's consent to be fleeced; as soon as they were resolved to shake off the yoke, it plainly appeared that a power not founded on force, is really no power at all.

The king prevailed on the parliament to grant him the annates or first fruits, which had been paid to the pope. He founded six new bishoprics; and ordered a visitation of all the convents in his own name. We have still the accounts of some scandalous irregularities, which are industriously exaggerated; of false miracles, the number of which is magnified; and of forged relics, which were made use of in several convents, to excite the devotion of the people, and to attract their benefactions. In the market places in London

* Annates are the first fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, being the value of one year's profit, formerly paid to the pope, and now to the king.

† St. Peter's pence was a levy of a penny on every house wherein there were thirty pence, *vive pecunie*, to be collected and sent to Rome; one half of it went for alms to the English school at Rome, and the other half to the pope's use.

several

several wooden images were burnt, which
 1535. the monks used to put into motion by
 springs.

But among those instruments of fraud, the people could not without horror and concern see the revered ashes of St. Thomas of Canterbury, thrown into the flames. The king seized upon the shrine which was immensely rich with precious stones. He had reproached the monks with their exactions; and now he gave them an opportunity to accuse him in their turn. The convents were all suppressed. Places of retirement were appointed for the old monks, who could not return to a secular life; and the others were allowed a pension. The king took their estates into his own hands. According to Burnet's calculation, their annual revenue amounted to sixteen hundred thousand pounds sterling: which perhaps is exaggerated. The moveables and ready money must have amounted to a considerable sum. Out of
 1536. all those spoils Henry founded six new bishoprics, and a college, rewarded a few servants, and converted the remainder to his own use.

Thus this very king, who with his pen had maintained the pope's authority against Luther, was grown a most bitter enemy of Rome. But the same zeal which he had so vigorously exerted against the opinions of that heresiarch, was one inducement to make him preserve the doctrine of the church, after he had changed its discipline.

He was resolved to be an enemy to the Roman pontiff, but not to turn Lutheran or Sacramentist. The invocation of saints was not abolished, but restrained. He was for having the bible translated; but he would not go a step further. It was a capital crime to believe in the pope; and it was the same to be a protestant. He indiscriminately ordered those to be burnt who defended the authority

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ty of the see of Rome, with those who declared themselves for the German reformation.

The celebrated Sir Thomas Moor, who had been high chancellor of England, and a bishop whose name was Fisher, refusing to take the oath of supremacy, that is to acknowledge Henry VIII. as pope of England, were in consequence of a late act of parliament condemned to be beheaded; for it was under the sanction of the law that Henry VIII. put every body to death who opposed his will.

Paul III, successor of Clement VII, thought he should save Fisher's life, while they were proceeding to his trial, by sending him a cardinal's hat. But he only gave the king the satisfaction of putting his *eminence* to death. A reward was published for the head of cardinal Pool, who was then at Rome. The king caused this cardinal's mother to be beheaded, neither respecting her great age, nor the blood royal from which she descended; and all because they disputed his title of English pope.

The king having been informed that there was in London a very able sacramentarian named Lambert, would fain have the glory of disputing with him at a grand assembly in Westminster. The result of the dispute was, that the king gave him his choice, either to change opinion, or to be hanged. Lambert had the courage to embrace the latter, and the king was so mean and cruel as to put him to death. The English bishops were still catholics, though they had renounced the pope's jurisdiction: and so furiously incensed were they against heretics, that after they had condemned those poor wretches to be burnt, they granted forty days indulgence to any person that would fetch wood for the fire.

All

All those murders were committed by act of parliament. Yet this cloak of justice, though more odious perhaps than an open defiance of the laws, was what prevented a civil war. There were only a few insurrections in the distant counties. London trembled, and looked on; so blindly was this artful and terrible prince obeyed.

His will alone constituted all law; and so imperfect were the statutes relating to criminal causes, that the prisoner might be cast for life, without being confronted by two witnesses. It was not till the reign of Edward VI, that an act of parliament passed, requiring two witnesses, as in other countries, for the condemnation of a criminal.

While Anne of Bullen triumphed under the royal shelter and authority, it is pretended that the secret emissaries of Rome were conspiring her ruin, in hopes that if the king parted with her, the daughter of Catharine of Spain, would succeed to the crown, and restore the religion that had been abolished on the account of her mother's rival. This plot succeeded even beyond their expectation. The king falling in love with Jane Seymour, maid of honour to the queen, greedily swallowed the insinuations against his wife. His passions were all in the extreme: he was not ashamed to accuse the queen of adultery before the house of lords.

The parliament, ever subservient to the monarch's passions, passed sentence of death 1536. upon such slight foundations, that were a private citizen to quarrel with his wife for so trivial a matter, it would be considered as an injustice. They beheaded her brother, upon a supposition of having carried on an incestuous commerce with his sister, though they had not the least proof against him. They put two men to death for having said some flattering things to the queen, which are said to all women, and which a virtuous princess

princess may listen to, when disposed to be innocently chearful with her courtiers. They hanged a musician, who had been hired to swear that she had granted him favours, though he had never been confronted with her. The letter which this unfortunate queen wrote to the king, a little before she mounted the scaffold, seems to be a great proof of her innocence and courage. *You have been continually raising me, says she; from a private woman you made me a marchioness, from a marchioness a queen; and now from a queen you are pleased to raise me to be a saint.* In short, Anne of Bullen was removed from the throne to the scaffold, by the jealousy of a husband who ceased to love her. She was not the twentieth crowned head that had made a tragic exit in England; but she was the first who died by the hands of an executioner. The tyrant (for we can call him by no other name) was also divorced from this wife, before he put 1535, her to death, thereby declaring his daughter Elizabeth a bastard, as he had before declared his daughter Mary.

The day immediately subsequent to the queen's execution, he married Jane Seymour, who died the next year, after having given him a son.

Henry soon proceeds to his fourth nuptials 1539. with Anne of Cleves, deceived by a portrait of that princess, drawn by the famous Holbens. But when he saw her, he found the original so different from the copy, that in six months he resolved upon a third divorce. He represented to his clergy, that at the time he married Anne of Cleves, he had not given his inward consent. It is impossible for any man to have the impudence to alledge such a reason, unless he is sure that the persons with whom he is treating, will be so mean as to acquiesce to it. The bounds of justice and reason had been broke through for some time. The clergy and parliament passed

passed sentence of divorce: and he married a fifth wife, one of his own subjects, Catharine Howard. Any body else would have been ashamed of exposing himself and his family; but Henry having heard that the queen had had gallants before her marriage, ordered this wife also to be beheaded for a past failing which he ought to have overlooked, and which when committed, was not deserving of death.

1542. Stained with three divorces, and with the blood of two of his wives, he enacted a law, equally scandalous, cruel, ridiculous, and impracticable: namely, that every man privy to the queen's incontinency, shall be obliged to accuse her, upon pain of high treason; and that whatever woman marries the king of England, and is not a virgin, must declare it under the same penalty.

It was said by way of joke (if joking could be allowed at such a court) that the king must marry a widow. Accordingly he married one, and that was his sixth wife, Catharine Parr. She had like to have undergone the same fate as Anne of Bullen, and Catharine Howard, not for any act of gallantry, but for having been sometimes of a different opinion from the king in matters of theology.

1543. Some sovereigns that changed the religion of their country, have been tyrants, from opposition and revolt, which will occasion cruelty. Henry VIII. was cruel in his nature, a tyrant in government, in religion, and in his family. Yet he died in his bed; and Henry VI, the humaneſt of princes, had been dethroned, imprisoned, and murdered.

During his last illness, there appeared a very extraordinary instance of the force of the English laws; and how much more that nation at all times adhered to the letter than to the spirit of those laws.

No

No body would venture to acquaint the king of his approaching dissolution; because of an act of parliament made some years before, declaring it high treason to predict the sovereign's death. This cruel and absurd law could not be occasioned by any apprehension of disturbances on account of the succession, since this was settled in favour of prince Edward: it was an effect of the tyrannical temper of Henry VIII, of his dread of death, and of the opinion which still obtained among the people, that there is an art of knowing futurity.

C H A P. CXIV.

The Religion of England continued.

IN the reign of young Edward VI, son of Henry VIII. and of Jane Seymour, the English were protestants, because the prince and his privy council were of that persuasion, and the spirit of reformation had taken root in all parts of the kingdom. The church of England was at that time a medley of Sacramentarians and Lutherans; but no body was persecuted for his religion, except two anabaptist women, whom the Lutheran archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, caused to be burnt, little thinking that he should die one day himself by the same punishment. The young king was loth to sign the sentence against one of those unfortunate women; he opposed it a long time; and at length when he did sign it, he could not refrain from tears. It was not enough to shed tears; he should not have signed his name. But as he was then only fourteen years of age, he could have no confirmed will of his own, either in regard to good or evil.

The sect which at that time went by the name of anabaptists in England, were the forerunners of

of those peaceful quakers, whose religion has been such a subject of ridicule in our times, while we are forced to admire their morals. They bore no resemblance in their doctrine, much less in their conduct, to the anabaptists of Germany, a collectitious multitude of savage boors, who carried their fanatic fury to every excess that human nature, left to its own guidance, can reach. The English anabaptists had not as yet a body of established dogmas; for no popular sect can have any till after some time; but what is very extraordinary, while they imagined themselves to be Christians, and never troubled their heads about philosophic disputes, they were in reality mere deists; for they looked upon Christ only as a man, to whom God had vouchsafed to grant a purer ray of light than to his cotemporaries. The most learned of their sect pretended that the term *the son of God* signified, among the Hebrews, no more than *a good man*, as the son of Satan or Belial implies only *a bad man*. Most of the dogmas, they said, that have been extracted from scripture, are philosophic subtleties, with which the plain truths of the law of nature have been involved. They neither believed the history of the fall of man, nor the mystery of the Trinity, nor of course the incarnation. They absolutely rejected infant baptism, and rebaptised adult persons: many of them looked upon baptism as an ancient oriental ablution, adopted by the Jews, renewed by St. John Baptist, but never practised by Christ towards any of his disciples. In this they mostly resembled their successors, the quakers; and it is chiefly their aversion to infant baptism that made the people give them the name of anabaptists. They fancied they were literally conforming to the gospel; and to die for their persuasion, they thought was the same as dying for Christianity: very different

ferent in this respect from the deists, who spread their secret opinions more than ever, in the midst of such a multitude of public sects.

The deists, rather attached to Plato than to Christ, rather philosophers than christians, tired of so many unhappy disputes, had the temerity to reject divine revelation, which mankind abused too much, and human authority, which they abused still more. They were spread all over Europe, and have multiplied prodigiously since then, but without establishing either sect or society, without rebelling against the higher powers. It is the only religion in the world that never had any assembly, the religion on which the least has been written, the religion the most peaceable. Without any communication it has extended itself on every side. Originally it was composed of philosophers, who following too closely the light of reason, and never communicating their thoughts to each other, have all strayed the same way: thence it proceeded to the middle order, that is, of those who have leisure and fortune, till it reached the higher rank in most nations: but it rarely has descended to the common people. Of all countries, England is the place where this religion, or rather philosophy, has taken the deepest and most spreading root. It has penetrated among artisans, and even among the country people. The inhabitants of this island are the only nation that have begun of themselves to think. But the number of those rustic philosophers is, and always will be, very small; for manual labour and reasoning do not well agree: and, in general, the common people can hardly be said either to use or abuse their understanding.

From these theological divisions baneful atheism arose in most parts of Europe. Some pretend that there were more atheists in Italy than in any other

country. It was not religious quarrels that led the Italian philosophers to this excess ; but the profligacy and debauch into which the several courts, and that of Rome among the rest, were fallen. Upon perusing a great many Italian writers of those days, we find that their authors, being too much shocked at the lewdness and iniquity of the age, denied the existence of a Deity, by whom such lewdness and iniquity were permitted, and fell into the same way of thinking as that embraced by Lucretius in times equally corrupt. This pernicious opinion gained ground among the great in England, and in France ; it made but very little progress in Germany and the North ; and there is no great danger that it will spread very wide. Sound philosophy, ethics, and the interest of society have almost destroyed it ; but at that time it grew strong by means of the wars of religion, when a multitude of enthusiasts were influenced by atheistical leaders.

In those unhappy times died Edward VI, 1553. of whom the public had conceived great hopes, which was all his age would permit. Upon his death-bed he conveyed the crown to his cousin, lady Jane Grey, descended from Henry VII, in prejudice to his sister Mary, daughter of Henry VIII, and Catharine of Spain. Jane was proclaimed at London ; but Mary's party and right prevailed. There was hardly a civil war on this occasion. Mary confined her rival to the Tower, together with princess Elizabeth, who reigned afterwards with so much glory.

A great deal more blood was spilt by executioners than by soldiers. The father, the father-in-law, the husband of lady Jane, and at length lady Jane herself, were condemned to be beheaded. She was the second queen that died in England by the hands of the executioner. This
princess

princess was only seventeen years old ; she had been forced to accept of the crown ; every circumstance pleaded in her favour ; and Mary herself ought to have dreaded the frequent examples of transition from the throne to the scaffold. But nothing could move her. She was as cruel and tyrannical as Henry VIII : but her tyranny was of a different sort ; for she acted always with a gloomy calm, whereas her father Henry was furious and violent.

Steady to the church of Rome, and provoked at her mother's divorce, she began her reign by summoning, by intrigues and bribery, a catholic house of commons. As to the peers, who for the most part had no religion but that of their prince, she found no difficulty to prevail with them. The same thing happened in point of religion, as had been experienced before in politics, during the wars between the white and red roses. The parliament had alternately condemned the Yorkists and Lancastrians. Under Henry VIII. they persecuted the protestants ; they encouraged them under Edward VI ; and burnt them under Mary. It has been often asked, why this terrible punishment should be among Christians inflicted on those who do not think like the established church, while even the most heinous crimes are punished with a milder death. Bishop Burnet assigns as a reason, that since they believed the souls of heretics to be eternally burning in hell fire, though their bodies are not to be there till after the resurrection, they might imagine that they imitated the divine justice by consigning them to flames 1556. on earth.

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been extremely serviceable to Henry VIII, in his divorce, was not condemned for that dangerous service, but for being a protestant. He was so

weak as to abjure his religion ; and Mary had the pleasure of ordering him to be committed to the flames, after she had been the occasion of that dishonourable act. The primate of England resumed his courage at the stake. After declaring that he died a protestant, he performed in reality what, in all probability, is only feigned of Mutius Scævola. The hand that signed the abjuration he thrust into the flames ; and did not fling himself upon the pile, till it dropped off. An action as intrepid and more glorious than that attributed to Mutius. The Briton punished himself for having yielded to what he thought a weakness, and the Roman for having miscarried in an attempt to assassinate.

About eight hundred persons are said to have been burnt alive in Mary's reign. A woman having been delivered of a child at the very stake, some of the spectators snatched the infant from the flames ; but the catholic judge ordered it to be thrown in again. Upon reading such detestable cruelties, can we look upon the authors of them as human beings ? shall we not rather imagine them to have been some of those fiends, which are represented in a gulf of torments, eager to plunge mankind into the same abyss ?

Of all those condemned to be burnt in Mary's reign, not one was accused of treason. Religion seemed to be their whole guilt. The Jews are allowed the exercise of their law, and have even privileges granted them ; while Christians consign to the cruellest of deaths, other Christians, who differ from them in a few articles.

Mary died in peace, though despised by 1558. Philip her husband, and by her subjects, who still reproach her with the loss of Calais, leaving behind her a name odious to every body that is not fond of persecution.

Mary,

Mary, a catholic queen, was succeeded by Elizabeth, a protestant. The parliament were protestants; the nation became so, and are so still. Then the religion was fixed. The liturgy, which had been only sketched, as it were, under Edward VI, was settled in its present form. The Roman hierarchy was preserved, with fewer ceremonies than among the Roman catholics, and more than among the Lutherans; confession was permitted, but not commanded; a firm belief was taught that God is in the eucharist, without transubstantiation: these are the fundamentals of the church of England. Policy required that the supremacy should continue annexed to the crown: and therefore a woman was made head of the church.

This woman had more wit and good sense than her father Henry, or her sister Mary. She avoided persecution as much as they had been fond of it. Perceiving, upon her accession, that the preachers of both sides sounded the trumpet of discord, she issued out a proclamation that there should be no preaching for six months, without an express order from the crown, to the end that the minds of the people might be disposed towards peace. This new precaution restrained those who thought they had a right, and who might have abilities, to stir up the people. No body was persecuted, nor even molested for his belief: but she put the laws strictly in execution against law-breakers, and those who gave any disturbance to the state. Then it was that this grand principle, to which the world had been so long a stranger, established itself in England, that it belongs to God alone to judge the hearts of those who offend him; and that it is the business of man to chastise those who transgress against human government. You will see hereafter what opinion you ought to entertain of Elizabeth,

beth, and what judgment especially you should form of the English nation.

C H A P. CXV.

Of Religion in Scotland.

THE religious troubles in Scotland were only a kind of reflux of those in England. Towards the year 1559, a few Calvinists had ingratiated themselves with the people, who are always the first to be worked upon: they are sincere; they put on the bridle themselves, till some person of great authority takes it in hand, and renders it subservient to his own interest.

The catholic bishops did not fail in the beginning to condemn some heretics to the flames; a punishment as usual in Europe, as hanging a thief.

The same thing happened in Scotland, as must happen in all countries, that have any vestiges of liberty. An old priest having been condemned to the stake by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the cruelty of this execution made a great many proselytes, and furnished an opportunity for spreading the new doctrine with greater freedom, and for railing against the barbarity of the archbishop. Several Scotch lords acted the same part, during the minority of the famous Mary queen of Scots, as was afterwards acted by the French nobility during the minority of Charles IX. Their ambition blew the coals which had been lighted by the religious disputes; in short, here, as in other places, there was a great deal of blood spilt. The Scotch, at that time one of the poorest and most indolent nations in Europe, would have done much better, had they applied themselves

selves to the improvement of their barren country, or at least had they endeavoured to establish a fishery on their coasts for their necessary subsistence: much better, I say than to imbrue that wretched kingdom in blood, for the sake of foreign opinions, and for the interest of a few ambitious men. This was adding a fresh misfortune to the poverty under which they laboured at that time.

The queen regent, mother of Mary 1599. queen of Scots, thought to stifle the reformation in the beginning, by sending for troops from France: but this very measure contributed to establish what she would fain have hindered. The scotch parliament, enraged to see their country swarm with foreign troops, obliged the queen to send them back: upon which they suppressed the Romish religion, and established the confession of Geneva.

Mary Stuart, dowager of Francis II, a weak princess, formed only for love, and forced by Catharine de Medicis, envious of her beauty, to return to Scotland, found her country in a miserable situation, rent by fanatics. We shall see in what manner she increased the national calamities by her indiscretion.

Calvinism at length prevailed in Scotland, in spite of the catholic, and afterwards in spite of the Anglican bishops. This sect at present is almost abolished in France, at least it is no longer tolerated. Thus there has been nothing but revolutions since the sixteenth century, in Scotland, England, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and France.

C H A P CXVI.

*Of the State of Religion in France under Francis I,
and his Successors.*

THE French, ever since the reign of Charles VII, were considered at Rome as schismatics, because of the pragmatic sanction, which had been made at Bourges, in conformity to the decrees of the fathers at the council of Basil, enemies to the papal power. The principal article of this pragmatic sanction was the usage of ecclesiastic elections, an usage tending to the encouragement of virtue and learning in better times, but a source of faction and discord. It was acceptable to the public for two reasons; the lovers of strict discipline looked upon it as the remains of the primitive church; the universities, as the reward of their labour. And yet the popes continued to receive the annates for the most part, in spite of the pragmatic sanction, by which this and other exactions had been abolished. Fromentau informs us, that during the seventeen years reign of Lewis XII, the popes drew from the diocese of Paris the exorbitant sum of three millions three hundred thousand livres, current money of that time.

When Francis I. undertook, in 1515, his Italian expedition, which at first seemed more promising, and afterwards proved more unfortunate than those of Charles VIII, and Lewis XII; Leo X, who had opposed him in the beginning, wanted his assistance, and the king likewise stood in need of the pope.

The chancellor Duprat, who was afterwards
1515. cardinal, concluded with pope Leo's ministers that famous concordat, by which it
was

was said that the king and the pope gave to each other what did not belong to them. The king obtained the nomination of benefices; and the pope, by a secret article, had the first fruits, upon renouncing all * *Mandates*, † *Reservations*, ‡ *Expectatives*, and § *Preventions*, prerogatives to which Rome had long pretended. The pope immediately after signing the concordata, reserved to himself the first fruits by a particular bull. The university of Paris deprived of one of her privileges, assumed another, which even the parliament of England could hardly pretend to. She published a prohibition to print the king's concordat, or to obey him. And yet the universities are not so ill used by this agreement between the king and the pope, since the third part of the benefices are reserved to those bodies, and they have a power of *impetration* ** four months of the year, January, April, July, and October, which are called the months of the graduates.

The clergy, and especially the collegiate churches, who were deprived of the privilege of chusing their bishops, murmured greatly; but the expectation of benefices from the court made them quiet. The parliament having no such ex-

* A *Mandate* was where the pope, by virtue of his prerogatives, and of his own proper right, nominated to a benefice.

† *Reservation* in the canon law was a clause where by the pope retained or kept something to himself.

‡ *Expectatives* are bulls frequently given by popes for future benefices before they become void.

§ *Prevention* in canon law is the right that a superior person has to lay hold on, to claim, or to transact an affair, before an inferior, to whom it more immediately belongs.

** *Impetration* is the getting of benefices, and church offices, before-hand, from the church of Rome, which belong to the king, or other lay patron.

petition, continued unshaken in their resolution to maintain the ancient usages, and liberties of the Gallican church, of which they were guardians; they respectfully withstood several of the royal mandates; and at length being obliged to register the concordat, they protested it was in obedience only to the repeated commands of his majesty.

Yet the parliament in their remonstrances, and the university in her complaints, seemed to lose sight of an essential service which Francis I. had rendered the nation by granting the annates: they had been paid before that time upon an exorbitant footing in France, as well as in England: but this prince reduced them to a moderate sum; for now they do not amount to four hundred thousand livres, *communibus annis*, a sum easily retrieved by commerce. But it was the general desire of the nation, that no annates at all should be paid to Rome.

For some time after the concordat, great confusion arose in many dioceses. The king nominated a bishop; the canons another; and the parliament, in virtue of the appeals from abuses, determined in favour of the clergy. Those disputes would have been productive of a civil war in the times of feudal government. At length Francis I took away from the parliament the cognizance of what relates to bishoprics and abbies, and gave it to the grand council. In process of time animosities subsided. The public accustomed themselves to the concordat, as if it had been always established; and the murmurings of the parliament intirely ceased in 1538; when the king obtained of pope Paul III an *indult* * for the chan-

* An *indult* is a special grant of the pope, to any society, corporation or private person, to do or obtain something contrary to the canon law.

cellor and for the members of parliament; an indult by which they are empowered to do in little what the king does in great; that is, to confer a benefice once in their lives. The masters of the requests † had the same privilege.

In this whole affair which gave so much trouble to Francis I, it was necessary he should be obeyed, if he had a mind that Leo X. should fulfil his engagements, and assist him to recover the dutchy of Milan.

It is evident that this intimate connexion was inconsistent with the king's tolerating any other religion than that of Rome. The privy council were of opinion that novelty of religion is attended with revolution of state. Politicians may be mistaken by judging only from a single example that strikes them. The council were in the right, considering the troubles in Germany, which they themselves fomented: perhaps they were mistaken, considering the facility with which Lutheranism had been established by the kings of Sweden and Denmark. They might likewise look back; and see much stronger examples. The true religion had been every where introduced without civil war: in the Roman empire, by Constantine's edict; in France, by the will and pleasure of Clovis; in England, by the example of Ethelbert, the little king of Kent; in Poland, and in Hungary, by the same causes. It had not been much above a century since the first of the Jagellons, who reigned in Poland, embracing Christianity, converted all Lithuania and Samogitia to the same

† The *masters of the requests* in Latin, *libellorum supplicium magistri*, were originally, certain persons at court, whose business it was to receive the requests or petitions intended for his majesty. They have now an authority to determine all differences among those who constitute the king's household, and other privileged persons.

religion;

religion; and yet we do not find that those ancient *Gepidæ* * ever murmured. True it is that the Saxons had been baptized by Charlemaign in rivers of blood; but this was because he wanted to enslave, and not to instruct them. If they pleased to cast their eye on the whole continent of Asia, they would have seen that the Mahometan dominions abound with Christians and Idolaters, who live very peaceably under the same government; that several religions are professed in India, in China, and elsewhere, which were never planted by the sword. Had they traced all antiquity, they would have met with examples of the same kind. A new religion is neither dangerous nor bloody in itself; the danger is from the ambition of the great, who render this religion subservient to their purpose of weakening the government. Thus the Lutheran princes took up arms against the emperor, who wanted to destroy them: but neither Francis I, nor Henry II, had princes or lords to be afraid of.

The court, though afterwards divided under unfortunate minorities, was at that time united in perfect obedience to Francis I. This prince may be said to have permitted the persecution of heretics: but did not persecute them himself. The bishops and the parliaments lighted the fires; while he never offered to extinguish them.

Religion did not give him much uneasiness. He entered into an alliance with the protestants of the empire, and even with the Mahometans, against Charles V: and when the Lutheran princes of Germany reproached him with putting their brethren to death, though guilty of no crime

The *Gepidæ* were the ancient inhabitants of *Sarmatia Europea*, of the nation of the *Daci*; and so called from their fighting on foot.

against

against the state, he laid the whole blame upon the magistrates.

We have seen how the English judges under Henry VIII, and queen Mary exercised such cruelties, as strike us with horror. The French, who are reckoned a more humane people, greatly exceeded those barbarities, which had been committed under the pretext of religion and justice.

In the twelfth century, there was one Peter Valdo, a rich merchant of Lyons, whose piety and errors are said to have given rise to the sect of the Vaudois. This man having retired with several poor people, whom he maintained, to the desert vallies betwixt Provence and Dauphiné, acted both as their high-priest and father, instructing them in his doctrine, in which he differed very little from the Albigenes, or from Wicliff, John Hufs, Luther, and Zuinglius, in regard to several of the chief articles. Those men lived a great while in obscurity, busied in the culture of barren lands, which with indefatigable industry they rendered fit for corn and pasture: a proof of our being greatly to blame, if through neglect we suffer any part of France to lie uncultivated. The neighbouring grounds were let to them upon leases; which they improved by their labour, so as to maintain themselves, and to enrich their landlords, who never complained of their behaviour. In the space of two hundred and fifty years their number increased to near eighteen thousand, who were dispersed in thirty small towns, besides hamlets. All this was the fruit of their industry. There were no priests among them, no quarrels about religious worship, no law-suits; they determined their differences among themselves. None but those who repaired to the neighbouring cities, knew that there was either
mass,

mass, or bishops. They prayed to God in their own jargon; and being continually employed, they had the happiness to know no vice.. This peaceful state they had enjoyed for above two hundred years, since the wars against the Albigenses, with which the nation had been tired. When mankind have long rioted in cruelty, their fury abates, and sinks into languor and indifference: this we see constantly verified in individuals, as well as in whole nations. Such was the tranquillity which the Vaudois enjoyed, when the reformers of Germany and Geneva came to hear that there were others of the same persuasion as themselves. Immediately they sent some of their ministers, a name given to the curates of the protestant churches, to visit them; and since then the Vaudois are but too well known. The late edicts against heretics had condemned them to the flames.

The parliament of Provence passed this
1540. sentence against nineteen of the principal inhabitants of the town of Merindol, further ordaining that their woods should be cut down, and their houses demolished. The Vaudois, terrified at this sentence, sent a deputation to cardinal Sadoletus, bishop of Carpentras, who at that time was in his diocese. This illustrious scholar, this true philosopher, this humane and compassionate prelate, received them with great goodness, and interceded in their behalf. Langeai, commander of the kings forces in Piedmont, suspended the execution of the sentence. Francis I. granted them a pardon, on condition they would recant. But it is very rare that people recant a religion imbibed from their infancy. Their obstinacy provoked the parliament of Provence who were all hot-
1541. headed men; so that John Meynier, of Oppede, at that time first president, and the most violent of them all, continued the proceedings.

At

At length the Vaudois rose up in arms. The president enraged at this step, represented their misbehaviour in the very worst colours to the king, and obtained leave to execute the sentence, which had been suspended full five years. The sentence could not be executed but by military force; therefore the president, and Guerin the attorney-general took some troops with them. It seems evident that those obstinate people, whom Maimbourg the declaimer calls a *rebellious rabble*, were not at all disposed to rebellion, since they made no defence: they fled on every side, crying out for mercy. The soldiers massacred the women, children and old men, who could not save themselves by timely flight.

Oppede and Guerin ran from village to village, murdering all they met. They set houses, barns, corn, and trees, all on fire. They pursued the fugitives through the flames. In the little town of Cabrieres only sixty men and thirty women were left behind; who surrendered, upon promise that their lives should be spared; but they had scarce capitulated, when they were inhumanly butchered. A few women had taken shelter in a neighbouring church; from thence they were dragged by Oppede's command, who shut them up in a barn, and ordered it to be set on fire. It was reckoned that two and twenty towns were reduced to ashes; and when the fire had spent itself, that once flourishing and populous country was reduced to a desert, strewed with dead bodies. The few that made their escape, fled towards Piedmont. Francis I. was shocked at the news: the sentence which he had permitted to be carried into execution, mentioned only the capital punishment of nineteen heretics; whereas Oppede and Guerin massacred thousands of the inhabitants. The king, upon his death-bed, recommended to his son
to

to punish this barbarity, the like instance of which had been never heard among ministers of peace.

Accordingly Henry II. gave leave to the ruined lords of those ravaged villages, and of those massacred inhabitants, to carry their complaint to the parliament of Paris. The cause was pleaded: Oppepe had interest enough to be acquitted: the whole guilt was thrown upon Guerin the attorney-general; whose single life was the only atonement made for the blood of that unhappy multitude.

These executions did not hinder the progress of Calvinism. One side lighted up fires; the other laughed, and chaunted Marot's psalm, according to the volatile and sometimes cruel disposition of the French nation. The whole court of Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister to Francis I, were Calvinists; as were also one half of the king's attendants. This change, which began with the common people, spread now among the great, as it generally happens. The Calvinist ministers preached in private; in public every body disputed. These contentions, which few or none trouble their heads about at present, either in Paris, or at court, because they are grown stale, were attended to by every body at that time, because of their novelty. Several members of the parliament of Paris had an attachment to what they called the reformation. Those magistrates had been ever attentive to oppose the encroachments of the church of Rome, which the heretics intirely put an end to. Some of the members, remarkable for a severe republican liberty, were further pleased with favouring a rigid sect, who condemned the profligacy of the court. Henry II, dissatisfied with several of that assembly, rushes one day all of a sudden into the great
 1554. chamber; while they were debating about the persecution against the Huguenots. He orders five of them to be seized: Anne du Bourg,
 a mem-

a member who had expressed himself with the greatest warmth, signed his confession of faith in the Bastile, which, in many articles was found consentaneous to that of the Calvinists and the Lutherans. There was then an inquisitor in France; viz. Mouchi, bishop of Paris; though the court of inquisition, detested by every Frenchman, had never been established in that kingdom. Du Bourg was tried and condemned by Mouchi, and by a few commissioners of the parliament, notwithstanding that ancient law, pursuant to which he ought to have been tried by the court of parliament. This law is still yet unrepealed, and generally of no force; for the history of France affords us frequent examples of members of parliament, who were brought to their trial before a different court from their own. Anne du Bourg was not executed till the reign of Francis II, when the cardinal of Lorraine, a violent minister, insisted on his being put to death. They hanged and burnt in the place de Greve, this priest and magistrate, 1559. a man of too obstinate a temper, but a magistrate of known virtue and integrity.

Martyrs are productive of profelytes. The execution of a person of that character made more protestants, than Calvin's institutes. The sixth part of France were Calvinists under Francis II, as one third of Germany at least were Lutherans under Charles the fifth.

There remained only one right way to act; which was to imitate the examples of Charles the fifth, who after a series of wars, concluded at length with granting liberty of conscience; and that of queen Elizabeth, who maintained the established religion, but allowed every body to worship God their own way, provided they behaved as peaceable subjects.

This is the maxim now observed in all those countries

countries heretofore ravaged by religious wars, after having been convinced, by repeated, though too fatal experiments, of the rectitude of this measure.

But before this measure can be pursued, the laws must be in force, and the fury of parties must begin to subside. France was nothing but one continual scene of sanguinary factions from the reign of Francis I, to the happy days of Henry the great. In those licentious times the laws were trampled upon : and even when the civil wars were at an end, fanaticism survived, and assassinated this monarch in the bosom of peace, by the hand of a madman, a visionary let loose from a cloister.

Having thus formed to myself an idea of the state of religion in the sixteenth century, it remains that I take some notice of the religious orders which combated the new opinions, and of the inquisition which endeavoured to exterminate the protestants.

C H A P, CXVII.

Of the religious Orders.

THE monastic life, that source of so much good and so much mischief, which gave birth to the very person by whom the papacy was exterminated out of one half of Europe, merits our particular attention.

There are a great many protestants and speculative politicians, who imagine that the popes invented all these numerous bodies, which differ so greatly in dress, food, occupation, and rule of life, to be a standing army for the holy see in the several states of Christendom. It is true that the popes have found these orders serviceable to their cause, but they

they were not the inventers of the monastic institution.

Among the oriental nations, even in remotest antiquity, there were men who retired from the crowd to lead a religious life. The Persians, the Egyptians, and especially the Indians, had communities of *Cenobites* *, independently of those who were designed for the service of the altar. We have no instances of any among the Greeks or Romans. The different colleges of priests officiated in their respective temples. Those people were strangers to a monastic life, The Jews had their *Essenes* † and their *Therapeutes* ‡; who were imitated by the Christians.

Towards the beginning of the fourth century, S. Basil wrote his rule in a barbarous province bordering on the Black Sea; and it was followed by all the monks of the East: he invented the three religious vows, to which all the recluse submitted. S. Benedict, patriarch of the western monks, wrote his rule in the sixth century.

It had been long a comfort to mankind, to see those asylums open to such as desired to retire from the oppression of the Goths and Vandals. Almost all but the lords of castles were slaves: while the cloysters afforded shelter from tyranny and military service. It is true, the feudal laws in the West

* *Cenobite* is a religious person, who lives in a convent, under a certain rule, contradistinguished from an hermit, who lives in solitude. The word is derived from κοινός, common, and, Βίος, life.

† The *Essenes* were among the antient Jews, who separated themselves from the rest of the people, and led a kind of monastical life.

‡ The *Therapeutes* were a particular sect mentioned by Philo Judæus, that lived retired from the world, wholly employed in the service of God. The word is of Greek origin, from θεραπεύειν, to serve or minister to.
did

did not permit a bondman to be admitted into a monastery without his lord's consent ; but the monks knew how to elude this law. What little literature remained among the barbarians, was preserved in monasteries. The Benedictins transcribed some books. By degrees the monks were authors of several useful inventions. Besides, they tilled the land, sang praise and glory to God, led a sober life, and were hospitable : their example might also contribute to soften the ferocity of those barbarous times. But complaints were soon made, that those institutions, so pious in their original, had been corrupted by opulence, and wanted a reformation. Every age and country gave birth to men, animated by the example of S. Benedict, men who would fain be founders of new societies.

The spirit of ambition is often joined with that of enthusiasm ; it insensibly blends itself with the strictest piety. To be admitted into the old order of S. Benedict, was entering into a state of subjection : but to found a new institution, was establishing a kind of empire. Hence such a swarm of clerks, of canons regular, of religious men and women. Whosoever attempted to found an order, was welcome to the pope, because all religious societies are immediately subject to the holy see, and exempted, as much as possible, from the jurisdiction of their bishops. Most of their general superiors reside at Rome, as the center of Christianity, and from this capital they forward whatever commands the pontif is pleased to give them, to the remotest part of the globe.

One great abuse at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was, that the several states of Christendom were over-run with people, who were become foreigners in their native country, and subjects of the pope. Another abuse was, that those
nume-

numerous families were perpetuated to the detriment of the human species. We may safely aver, that before one half of Europe had suppressed the religious houses, they contained above five hundred thousand souls. And yet there are whole countries depopulated; the colonies of the new world want inhabitants; and the scourge of war sweeps away too many of our fellow creatures. If every legislator ought to aim at the increase of his subjects; it is certainly running counter to this grand principle, to give too great encouragement to such a multitude of men and women who are lost to each state, and who, as much as in them lies, engage by oath to destroy the human species. One could wish there were comfortable retreats for old age; but this institution, the only one wanting, is the only one forgot. It is young people that fill the cloisters. At an age which no government permits them to have the management of their property, they are permitted to dispose of their liberty for ever.

It cannot however be denied, but there are persons of eminent virtue among those engaged in a conventual life. Most monasteries contain some religious souls, that do honour to human nature. It has been the study of too curious inquirers, to publish the profligacy and debauch with which these sanctuaries have been defiled. And yet there is no doubt but a secular life is more exposed to vice, and that the greatest crimes have not been committed in cloisters: but the crimes of cloistered persons are most taken notice of, because of the contrast between libertinism and a monastic rule. No state of life whatever is pure. But here we are to consider only the general good of society. It is pity that the abilities of such a number of men should lie buried, and those virtues lost which would have been of service to the public. The few monasteries

steries that were founded in the beginning did a great deal of good. This small number proportioned to the extent of each state, would have commanded respect. The great multitude renders them cheap; hence priests, who were heretofore almost equal with bishops, are now in comparison, the same as the common people in regard to princes.

Among this multitude of religious orders, the Benedictines have always held the first rank. Amused with power and riches, they scarce interfered at all with the scholastic disputes in the sixteenth century; they looked upon the other monks, with the same eye as the ancient nobility are apt to view the new. The monks of *Cluni*, *Clervaux* *, and a great many others, were young shoots of S. Benedict's stock, who, in the days of Luther, had nothing remarkable but their opulence. The rich abbies of Germany, quiet in the enjoyment of their possessions, gave themselves no concern about controversy; neither had the Benedictines of Paris as yet employed their leisure hours in those learned researches, by which they have since acquired so high a degree of reputation.

The *Carmelites* † who had been transplanted from Palestine into Europe, in the fifth century, were satisfied, if the world would but believe that Elijah was their founder.

The *Carthusians*, the only ancient order that never had need of being reformed, were founded at Grenoble, towards the end of the eleventh century. Their number was small, and their wealth too considerable for men retired from the world: yet they consecrated their time to fasting, to silence,

* Names of particular abbies in France.

† This is a mistake; the Carmelites were transplanted into Europe in the thirteenth century, by S. Lewis king of France. See Baronius and Spondanus.

to solitude and prayer; perfectly quiet in a tumultuous world, the noise of which scarce ever reached their ears; and having no other knowledge of their respective sovereigns than by the prayers, in which their names are inserted. Happy, if such pure and constant virtues could have been of any service to the public?

The Premonstratenses *, founded by St. Norbert in 1120, did not make a great figure, and were the more to be commended.

Of all the religious orders the Franciscans were the most numerous, and most active. Francis of Assisi, who founded this order in 1210, was, in their eye, a man superior to humanity. They compared him to Christ, whom he surpassed in miracles, according to their account. It was indeed an amazing prodigy, for the founder of this populous order, to multiply it to such a degree, that in his own life-time there were five thousand deputies from the several convents, to the general chapter held in the neighbourhood of Assisi in 1219. And at this present time, though the Protestants have deprived them of a vast number of their houses, yet they have still seven thousand of men under different names, and above nine hundred of women. Their late general chapters reckoned a hundred and fifteen thousand men, and about nine and twenty thousand women: intolerable abuse in countries where the human species has so visibly declined.

These men struck at every thing; they were preachers, divines, missionaries, mendicants, emissaries, running from place to place, and every where the declared enemies of the Dominicans.

* An order of regular canons, observing St. Austin's rule, and so called from *Premontre*, the name of their first abbey in Champagne.

Their theological quarrel turned on the nativity of the mother of Christ. The Dominicans asserted, that she came into the world like other women, a slave to the devil; the Cordeliers pretended that she had been exempt from original sin. The Dominicans thought they founded themselves on the opinion of St. Thomas; the Franciscans, on that of John Duns, a Scotchman, commonly called Duns Scotus, and known in his own time by the title of the *subtle doctor*.

The political quarrel between those two orders, was a consequence of the prodigious credit of the Dominicans.

The latter had been founded a little after the Franciscans; they were not so numerous, but had more power, because of the office of master of the sacred palace at Rome, which in St. Dominic's time was settled on this order: and because of the courts of inquisition, over which these fathers preside. Their general superiors for a long time had the nomination of the inquisitors all over Christendom. The pope appoints them at present, but permits this office to be held at the Dominicans convent of the *Minerva*: this order presides still over thirty two tribunals of the Inquisition in Italy, without reckoning those of Portugal and Spain.

In regard to the Austin friars, they were originally a society of hermits, to whom Alexander IV gave a rule in 1254. Though the pope's *Sacristan* * used to be always chosen from their body, and though they possessed the privilege of preaching, and selling indulgences, yet they were not so numerous as the Cordeliers, nor so powerful as the Dominicans; and they are

* The *Sacristan* is he that has the care of the vessels and ornaments of the church.

scarce known to the lay world, but by having produced Martin Luther.

I omit a great number of different societies; for in this general plan I have no time to review every regiment of the whole army. But the order of Jesuits, founded since Luther's time, merits our particular notice. The Christian world have exhausted themselves in saying all the good and bad they can of this society. It has extended itself to all parts, and in all parts it has enemies. Many are of opinion that it is altogether a political institution; that the design of St. Ignatius was to enslave the consciences of kings to his order, to render this society triumphant over the minds of the people, and to procure it a kind of universal monarchy.

Ignatius of Loyola, far from having any such views, was never in a situation to form them. He was an illiterate gentleman of Biscay, born with a romantic genius, fond of books of chivalry, and inclined to enthusiasm: he served in the Spanish army, while the French in vain attempting to recover Navarre out of the hands of its usurpers, had laid siege to the castle of Pampelona in 1521. Ignatius was then about thirty, and upon duty in the castle, where he was wounded. They gave him the lives of saints to read during his illness; this, together with a fancied vision, determined him to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From that time he devoted himself to a religious life. It is positively averred, that he passed seven days and seven nights without eating or drinking; a thing almost incredible, and which indicates a weak imagination, with a very robust constitution. Ignorant as he was, he preached about from village to village. The rest of his adventures are well known; how he watched his arms, and set up for knight of the blessed Virgin; how he wanted to fight a Moor, who had spoken disrespectfully of her to

whose service he was devoted; and how he left the affair to the determination of his horse, who took a different road from the Moor. Desirous of preaching the gospel among the Turks, he proceeded as far as Venice; but reflecting that he did not understand Latin, a language however very useless in Turkey, he turned back to commence his studies at Salamanca, at the age of thirty three.

He was imprisoned by the inquisition, for pretending to direct devout women, and making them turn pilgrims: but upon the recovery of his liberty, he went to pursue his studies at Paris. Here our poor stranger got acquainted with some of his countrymen, who were in as low circumstances as himself; these men entered into an association, and having been afterwards joined by a few Frenchmen, they set out for Rome towards the year 1537, to present themselves in a body to pope Paul III, in the quality of pilgrims, that intended to travel to Jerusalem, and there to form a particular society. Ignatius and his companions had some virtues; they were disinterested, patient and zealous. On the other hand, we must acknowledge that he was fired with the ambition of being founder of an order. This kind of vanity, with which the desire of domineering is apt to mingle, takes a deeper root in the human breast in proportion as the other passions are subdued, and operates with greater efficacy when united with virtues. If Ignatius had not been actuated by that passion, he and his comrades would have entered the order of *Theatins* * founded by cardinal Cajetan. In vain did

* The *Theatins* are a religious order of regular Roman Catholic priests. But Voltaire is mistaken in saying

did the cardinal solicit him to be a member of this community, the ambition of being a founder hindered him from enlisting under any other commander.

The roads to Jeruselem were dangerous; so that he was obliged to stay in Europe; but having learnt a little grammar, he devoted his time to the instruction of children. His disciples discharged this duty with great success: but this very success proved a source of disturbances. The Jesuits were opposed by rivals in every university, where they had interest to be admitted members: and where they taught in competition with the university, it was nothing but a scene of broils and confusion.

If on the one hand, the desire of instructing youth, though inspired by charity, was productive of such pernicious consequences; on the other, the humility with which this founder and his people renounced all ecclesiastical preferments, was the very thing that established the grandeur of the order. Most sovereigns took Jesuits for their confessors, that they might not be tempted to give a bishopric for an absolution; yet the post of confessor is oftentimes of more importance than an episcopal see. It is a secret ministry, whose power increaseth in proportion to the weakness of the prince.

At length Ignatius and his companions, in order to obtain a bull of approbation from the pope, at that time a very difficult matter, were

ing they were founded by cardinal Cajetan; their founder was S. Cajetan of Thiene; and Caraffa, bishop of *Theate*, having been their first superior, they take their name from thence. Perhaps he means cardinal Caraffa, the aforesaid bishop of *Theate*, who was afterwards pope Paul IV. See Du Pin's church hist. vol. 4.

advised to make, over and above the ordinary vows, a fourth of obedience to his holiness; and it is this fourth vow which afterwards produced so many missionaries, who extend the religion and glory of the supreme pontif to the most distant corners of the earth. In this manner a spirit, the widest in the world from politics, gave birth to the most political of all the monastic orders. In matters of religion the foundation is generally laid by enthusiasm; but it is art and abilities that finish the building.

We have seen the Jesuits directing the courts of Europe, possessed of high reputation in consequence of their studies, and of the instruction of youth, reforming the sciences in China, converting Japan for a little while, and giving laws to the people of Paraguay. They are about eighteen thousand in number, dispersed all over the world, all subject to one perpetual and absolute general, and connected together, by their vow of obedience, to one single person. Their government is now the model of monarchy. They have poor, and they have very rich houses. Don John of Palafox, bishop of Mexico, wrote thus to pope Innocent X. about a hundred years after their foundation: *I have found almost the whole wealth of these provinces in the hands of the Jesuits. Two of their colleges possess three hundred thousand sheep, with six great sugar works, some of which are worth near a million of crowns: they have very rich mines of silver; mines so considerable, that they would be sufficient to maintain an independent prince.* These complaints though perhaps exaggerated, seem to have some foundation.

This order was established with great difficulty in France. And how could it be otherwise? It had its rise and progress under the house of Austria, and by that same house it was protected. The
Jesuits,

Jesuits, at the time of the league, were pensioners to Philip II. The rest of the religious orders, who were all concerned in this faction, except the Benedictines and the Carthusians, stirred up the fire no where but in France; but the Jesuits were blowing the coals from Rome, from Madrid, from Brussels. Happier times extinguished those flames.

Nothing seems more contradictory than this public hatred, and this great regard for the same society; that warmth with which they were banished out of several countries, and honourably again restored; such a prodigious number of enemies, with such popularity. But there have been examples of the like contrasts among the mendicant orders. In a numerous society, employed in literature and religion, there will be always a variety of members, some of a restless disposition, who make themselves enemies: others men of learning, who acquire reputation; others of an insinuating character, who form cabals; and others of a political cast, who take advantage of the labours and the reputation of their fellow members.

The fathers of the French oratory are of modern institution, and differ from all the orders. Theirs is the only society in which vows are not known, and where no repentance dwells. It is a voluntary retreat. The rich live at their own expence, and the poor at the expence of the house. They enjoy as much liberty as becomes men to have. In this society virtue is seldom disgraced by mummery and superstition.

Among those different orders there reigns an emulation, which has oftentimes broke out into external acts of jealousy. A strong aversion betwixt the black and white monks subsisted for some ages. The Dominicans and the Franciscans were of

course divided as, as already hath been observed. Each order seemed to rally under a different standard. There is what we call the *esprit du corps* * that animates all societies.

The institutions set apart for the relief of the poor, and attendance of the sick, have made less shew, and yet are not less deserving of our respect. Perhaps nothing in the world can be nobler, than the sacrifice which the fair sex make of beauty and youth, and oftentimes of high birth, to employ their time at the hospitals in relieving those miserable objects, the sight of which alone is humbling to our pride, and shocking to our delicacy. So generous a charity has been but imperfectly imitated by those of a different communion from the church of Rome.

Indeed this useful society is the least numerous. But there is another of a more heroic nature; a name which belongs to the Trinitarians of the redemption of captives, founded towards 1120, by a gentleman whose name was John of Matha. The members of this order have employed themselves these five centuries in breaking the chains of Christian slaves among the Moors. They pay the ransom of those captives partly with their own revenues, and partly with the charitable donations, which they collect and carry over into Africa.

Of such institutions in particular no body can complain; but the general objection is, that the monastic life robs the civil society of too many of its members. The nuns especially are dead to their country. The tombs in which they spend their days, are most of them very poor. A girl that works at her needle, or such other employment

* The French give this name to that affection, which individuals have for the society, of which they are members.

suitable to her sex, will earn more than the maintaining of a nun amounts to. The fate of these poor women may raise our pity, while the multitude of opulent monasteries continues the object of envy. It is very evident that too great a number of these women would depopulate a state. The Jews for this reason had neither Essenes nor Therapeutes of the female sex. There was no sanctuary consecrated to virginity in Asia; the Chinese and Japanese alone have the Bonzes: but who can tell whether they are absolutely unserviceable to the state? there never were in ancient Rome more than six Vestals; and even these might quit their retreat after a certain time, and marry.

Good policy seems to require that there should be no more than the necessary number of ecclesiastics for the service of the altar, or for other religious purposes. England, Scotland, and Ireland, have not twenty thousand. Holland, though it contains two millions of souls, has not a thousand consecrated to the church: and besides, as these are almost all married, they contribute to people their country, with subjects virtuously educated.

In France they reckoned towards the year 1700, above two hundred and fifty thousand ecclesiastics, secular and regular, which is a great deal more than the usual number of troops. The secular clergy in the pope's territories consisted of about thirty two thousand, and the number of religious men and women amounted to eight thousand. This of all catholic countries is where the secular clergy most exceed the regulars in number: but to have forty thousand ecclesiastics, and not be able to maintain ten thousand soldiers, is surely the way to continue a low state.

France has more convents than all Italy together. The number of men and women immured in the several cloisters in this kingdom, amounted

to above ninety thousand at the beginning of the present century. Spain has only about fifty thousand, if we can depend on the enumeration made in 1623, by Gonzales d'Avila: but this country is not half so populous as France; and since the expulsion of the Moors and Jews, and the transplantation of so many Spanish families to America, it must be allowed that the religious houses in Spain are a kind of mortality, that insensibly destroys the nation.

In Portugal there are more than ten thousand religious persons of both sexes. This is a country of much about the same extent as the pope's, and yet it contains a greater number of regulars.

In all kingdoms whatever, proposals have been made for restoring part of those citizens, of whom the state is daily robbed by the religious houses. But those at the helm are seldom affected by a distant, though never so sensible, advantage; especially when this advantage is counterbalanced by present difficulties.

The religious orders are all enemies to this reformation. Each superior, who sees himself at the head of a little state, is desirous of increasing the number of his subjects; and even the monk, who pines at his confinement, oftentimes entertains a notion of the good of his order, preferring it to the real good of his country.

C H A P. CXVIII.

Of the Inquisition.

A Militia of five hundred thousand Monks and Friars, fighting with spiritual arms under the standard of Rome, could not hinder one half of

of Europe from shaking off the yoke of that court: and the inquisition has had no other effect, than to deprive the pope of some more provinces, witness the United Netherlands, or to commit unhappy wretches, without answering any purpose, to the flames.

You may remember that in the wars against the Albigenſes, and about the year 1200, pope Innocent III eſtabliſhed this tribunal, which takes cognizance of human thoughts; and that in contempt of the biſhops, the natural judges in matters of doctrine, it was entrusted to the care of the Dominicans and the Cordeliers.

Thoſe firſt inquiſitors had the power of ſummoning and excommunicating heretics, of granting indulgences to every prince that would exterminate them when condemned, of reconciling penitents to the church, of taxing their ſins, and receiving ſums of money by way of ſurety for their repentance.

It was a very droll inſtance of the abſurd contradictions, to which human policy is oftentimes reduced, that the moſt inveterate enemy of the ſee of Rome, happened to be the moſt ſtrenuous defender of this tribunal.

Frederick II, accuſed by the pope, one time of being a Mahometan, another time of Atheiſm, imagined he ſhould wipe off this reproach by taking the inquiſitors under his protection. He even went ſo far as to publiſh four edicts at Pavia, in 1244, whereby he laid an injunction on the magiſtrates to commit thoſe to the flames, whom the inquiſitors ſhould condemn as obſtinate heretics; and to impriſon thoſe for life, whom this tribunal ſhould declare repentant.

Notwithſtanding this political ſtep, Frederick II. was perſecuted as much as before; and the popes afterwards turned the arms he had put into their hands, againſt the rights and privileges of the empire.

Pope Alexander III. established the Inquisition in France in 1255, under St. Lewis. The guardian of the Cordeliers at Paris, and the provincial of the Dominicans, were grand inquisitors. By the bull of pope Alexander they were to consult, but not to be dependent on the bishops. The giving of this strange jurisdiction to men who by vows had renounced the world, set both clergy and laity against them. An inquisitor of the order of Cordeliers assisted at the trial of the knights Templars; but the public were soon so dissatisfied that those friars had nothing more left than an empty title.

In Italy the popes had more credit, because though disobeyed at Rome, from whence they had been long absent, they were still at the head of the faction of the Guelphs against the Gibellines. They made use of this inquisition against the partisans of the empire. For in 1302 pope John XXII. made the monkish inquisitors proceed against Matthew Visconti, a Milanese nobleman, whose sole crime was his attachment to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. The vassal's fidelity to his paramount was declared heresy; the house of Este, as also that of Malatesta, were treated in the same manner, and for the same reason; and if the sentence was not put in execution, it was because at that time it was easier for the pope to find inquisitors than armies.

The more this tribunal gained ground, the more strenuously it was claimed by the bishops, who saw themselves stripped of a privilege which seemed to belong to their order. The popes at length joined them in commission with the monkish inquisitors, who exercised a full authority almost in every state of Italy, the bishops being properly no more than their assessors.

Venice had received the inquisition towards the end of the 13th century, in 1289: every where else it was dependent on the pope; but in the Venetian

tian dominions it became subject to the senate. The wisest precaution they took, was, that the fines and confiscations should not belong to the inquisitors. They thought to moderate the zeal of those men, by removing the temptation of enriching themselves: but as the passion of pride and ambition is more preponderating with mankind than avarice; the restless spirit of the inquisition obliged the senate a long time after, that is, in the sixteenth century, to enact a law, that the inquisition should never proceed without the assistance of three senators. In consequence of this regulation and several others of the like good policy, the authority of this tribunal was in a manner abolished at Venice, by being eluded.

One would have imagined that the inquisition should have been introduced with the greatest ease, and settled in the firmest manner, in the kingdom of Naples; yet it never reached this part of Italy. The sovereigns of Naples, and Sicily, thinking themselves intitled, in consequence of papal concessions, to the enjoyment of ecclesiastic jurisdiction; the Roman pontif and the king were constantly disputing who should nominate the inquisitors, which was the reason of their not being appointed; and the people for the first time benefited by the quarrel of their masters. Yet there were fewer heretics in Naples and Sicily than in other countries. The religious tranquillity of those kingdoms shews very plainly, that the inquisition was not so much the bulwark of religion, as a scourge designed for the disturbance of the human species.

At length it was established in Sicily, after it had been received in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1478: but in Sicily, rather more than in Castile, it was a prerogative of the crown, and not a Roman tribunal; for in Sicily the king is pope.

The inquisition had long before gained admittance into Arragon; it was there in a languid state as well

as in France, without jurisdiction or order, and almost intirely forgot.

But it was not till after the conquest of Granada, that it exerted throughout the kingdom of Spain such vigour and severity, as had been never observed in the ordinary courts of justice. The Spaniards must at that time have had something in their nature more severe and unrelenting than other nations. This appears by the barbarities which they so wantonly exercised in the new world; and especially by the cruelties which they introduced into a jurisdiction, wherein the Italians, its inventors, behave with some lenity. The court of Rome had erected those tribunals out of policy; but they became more odious by the barbarity of the Spanish inquisitors.

After Mahomet II. had subdued Constantinople, both he and his successors permitted the conquered Greeks to enjoy their religion in peace: and when the Arabians were masters in Spain, they never compelled the Christian natives of that country to embrace the Koran. But after the taking of Granada, cardinal Ximenes, whether induced by religious zeal, or by the ambition of extending his primacy, would have all the Moors turn Christians. This was an enterprize diametrically contrary to the treaty by which the Moors had submitted; and it required some time to bring it to bear. But Ximenes would fain convert the Moors as quick as he had taken

Granada. They were compelled to hear 1499. sermons; they were persecuted: they rose up in arms, were quelled, and forced to submit to baptism. Ximenes obliged fifty thousand Moors to receive this sign of a religion, which they did not believe to be true.

The Jews were included in the treaty with the kings of Granada, but did not meet with more indulgence than the Moors. They were very numerous in Spain, where they followed the business of brokerage,

brokerage, as in all other countries. This profession, far from giving any umbrage, is founded on peace. There are above eight and twenty thousand Jews, tolerated by the pope, in Italy: and there are above two hundred and fourscore synagogues in Poland. The city of Amsterdam alone contains fifteen thousand Jews; though surely it can trade without them. The Jews did not seem to be more dangerous in Spain; and the taxes that might be laid on them, would have been sure resources to the government. It was therefore difficult to account, by the maxims of sound policy, for the persecution they underwent.

The inquisition proceeded against the Jews and the Mussulmen. We have already observed what a number of Mahometan and Jewish families chose rather to retire from Spain, than to be subject to the cruelty of this tribunal; which deprived Ferdinand and Isabella of a multitude of subjects. Surely there was least danger from those people, since they preferred to be fugitives rather than rebels. Those who staid behind pretended to be Christians. But the grand inquisitor Torquemada made queen Isabella look upon all those sham Christians, as people that deserved to lose their lives and estates.

This Torquemada was a Dominican, and afterwards cardinal; he settled the form of proceeding in the Spanish court of inquisition, a form contrary to all human laws and which subsists notwithstanding to this very day. In fourteen years he brought near fourscore thousand men to their trial, and caused six thousand to be burnt with all the pomp and ceremony usual on the greatest solemnities. The accounts given us of people who sacrificed human victims to the deity, fall greatly short of the executions of the inquisition. Against those bloody rites the Spaniards did not conceive sufficient

cient horror, because they were sacrificing their inveterate enemies, and the Jews. But they soon became victims themselves. For when Lutheranism began to spread, the few Spaniards suspected of embracing that doctrine, were made a sacrifice. The form of proceeding was an infallible way to destroy whomsoever the inquisitors pleased. The prisoners are not confronted with their accusers; and there is no informer, ever so base, but they listen to: a public criminal, an infamous person, a child, a prostitute, are good evidence: even a son may inform against his father, a wife against her husband. In short, the prisoner is obliged to accuse himself, to guess, and to confess the crime he is supposed to be guilty of, and of which he is frequently ignorant. This strange manner of proceeding struck a terror into the whole kingdom of Spain. A general jealousy and suspicion took possession of all ranks of people; friendship, and sociability were at an end. Brothers were afraid of brothers; fathers, of their children. Hence silence is become the characteristic of a nation, endowed with all the vivacity natural to a warm and fruitful climate. The most artful endeavoured to be bailiffs to the inquisition, under the name of familiars, chusing rather this servile office, than to be exposed to such cruelties.

To this tribunal we must likewise attribute that ignorance of sound philosophy, in which Spain lies buried; while Germany, England, France, and even Italy, have discovered such a multitude of truths, and enlarged the sphere of knowledge. Never is human nature so debased, as when ignorance is armed with power.

But these melancholy effects of the inquisition are a trifle in comparison to those public sacrifices called *Auto da Fe*, or acts of faith, and to the shocking barbarities that precede them.

A priest

A priest in a white surplice, or a monk who has vowed meekness and humility, causes his fellow creatures to be put to the torture in a dismal dungeon. A stage is erected in the public market-place, where the condemned prisoners are conducted to the stake, attended with a train of monks and religious confraternities. They sing psalms, say mass, and butcher mankind. Were a native of Asia to come to Madrid upon the day of an execution of this sort, it would be impossible for him to tell whether it was a rejoicing, a religious feast, a sacrifice, or a massacre; and yet it is all this together. The kings, whose presence alone in other cases is the harbinger of mercy, assist at this spectacle uncovered, lower seated than the inquisitors, and behold their subjects expiring in the flames. The Spaniards reproached Montezuma with immolating his captives to his gods; what would he have said had he beheld an *Auto da Fe*?

These executions are more rare at present. But reason whose rays with difficulty pervade the darkness of fanaticism, has not as yet been able to abolish them.

The inquisition was not introduced into Portugal till towards the year 1557, before this country fell under the Spanish yoke. At first it met with all the opposition its very name ought naturally to inspire: but at length it forced its way; and now it is under the same form of government at Lisbon as at Madrid. The grand inquisitor is nominated by the king, and confirmed by the pope. The particular courts of this office, to which they give the name of *Holy*, are subordinate, both in Spain and Portugal, to the tribunal of the capital. In both those kingdoms the inquisition is distinguished by the same severity, and by the same zeal in extending its power.

In

In Spain, after the decease of Charles V, they presumed to seize on that emperor's father-confessor, Constantine Pontius: the poor man died in a dungeon, and his effigy was burnt after his death at an *Auto da Fe*.

In Portugal, John of Braganza, having rescued his country from the Spanish yoke, would have been glad to deliver it from the inquisition: but he could do no more than deprive the inquisitors of the confiscated estates. After his decease they declared him excommunicated; and the queen his widow was obliged to desire they would absolve the dead corpse. By this absolution, equally ridiculous and disgraceful, he was acknowledged to have been guilty.

When the Spaniards made settlements in America, they carried the inquisition along with them. And the Portuguese introduced it into the East Indies, after it had been authorized at Lisbon.

Every body has heard of the inquisition of Goa. This jurisdiction in other countries is contrary to the law of nature, but at Goa it is repugnant to good policy. The Portuguese sail to the East Indies merely for the sake of trade. Now trade and the inquisition are incompatible. Were it to be established at London, or at Amsterdam, those cities would neither be so populous nor so opulent. We find that when Philip II, would fain introduce it into the Netherlands, the interruption of commerce was one of the principal causes of the revolution of that country. France and Germany have been happily preserved from this scourge. They have indeed experienced religious wars; but wars must sometimes have an end, while the inquisition, when once established, becomes eternal.

It is not at all surprising, that so detestable a tribunal should have been charged with excesses of cruelty and insolence, which it never committed.

We

We find in several writers, that the abovementioned Constantine Pontius, confessor to Charles V. had been accused before *the holy office*, with having dictated the emperor's will, wherein there was not a sufficient number of pious legacies: that both the confessor and the will were condemned to be burnt; and at length that Philip II. could obtain no more, but that the sentence should not be executed in regard to the will. This whole story is evidently false. Constantine Pontius had not been confessor for some time to Charles V, when he was imprisoned; and that prince's will was respected by Philip II, who had too great abilities and power to suffer the commencement of his reign, and his father's glory, to be thus dishonoured.

We read likewise in several books written against the inquisition, that the king of Spain, Philip III, assisting at an *Auto da Fe*, and seeing several of his subjects, Jews, Mahometans, and heretics, or suspected heretics, in the flames, he cried out; *poor wretches indeed, to suffer death, because they could not change their opinion.* It is very probable that a king might have entertained such sentiments, and that those words might have dropped from him. Only it is cruel he did not spare those whom he pitied. But they add, that those words having been carried to the grand inquisitor, he charged the king with them, and had the impudence to demand a reparation of the honour of the holy office; that the king was so mean as to submit; and that this reparation consisted in his being let blood, which the grand inquisitor ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. Philip III. was a shallow prince, but not so excessively weak. A story of this nature is not credible of any prince; it is related only in anonymous pieces, in the lives of the popes, and in those false memoirs printed in Holland, under so many spurious titles. Besides, it must be very weak policy to calumniate

luminate the inquisition, and to try to wound her with the arms of falshood and imposture.

This tribunal, designed for the extirpation of heresy, is the very thing that keeps the protestants at the greatest distance from the church of Rome. They view it as an object of horror ; they would rather die than submit to it ; so that the sulphureous shirts of the holy office are the standard against which they will ever unite.

Having thus run through whatever relates to religion, and reserving to later times the calamities of which it has been either the cause or pretence in France and Germany, I come now to those amazing discoveries, which at this time brought glory and riches to Portugal and Spain, embraced the whole globe, and rendered Philip II. the most powerful monarch in Europe.

C H A P. CXIX.

Of the Discoveries of the Portuguese.

WE have hitherto taken a view of those men only, whose ambition engaged them to disturb the known part of the globe. At length human industry was directed to an inquiry after unknown lands and seas, by an ambition that seemed more useful, but afterwards proved not less pernicious to mankind.

It is a known fact, that the direction of the magnet to the North, which had lain so long concealed from the most learned nations, was discovered in the times of ignorance, towards the end of the thirteenth century. Not long after that, Flavio Goia, a native of Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples, invented the compass : he marked the touched needle with a flower de luce, because this ornament belonged to the arms of the kings of Naples, who were of the house of France.

This

This invention for some time was of no sort of service ; for the verses which Fauchet quotes, to prove that they made use of the compass before 1300, are in all probability of the fourteenth century.

Towards the beginning of this very century, the Canary islands were found out without the assistance of the compass. Known by the name of the fortunate islands at the time of Ptolemy and Pliny, they had been frequented by the Romans, who were masters of Africa Tingitana, from whence they are not very distant. But the declension of the Roman empire having cut off all communication betwixt the western nations, who became strangers to each other, the knowledge of those islands was lost. Lewis de la Cerda, prince of Spain, son of him who lost the throne, unable to obtain the Spanish diadem, applied to pope Clement V, in the year 1306, for the title of king of the Fortunate islands ; and as the popes at that time pretended to dispose of kingdoms, whether real or imaginary, Clement VI. crowned him king of those islands at Avignon. But la Cerda chose rather to stay in France, where he had taken shelter, than go over to the Fortunate islands.

The first who certainly made use of the compass, were the English, in the reign of Edward III. What little science still remained, was confined to monasteries. A friar of Oxford, named *Linna* *,

* He was called *Nicolaus de Linna*, or of *Lynn*, in Norfolk, from the place of his nativity. He was bred at Oxford, and applied himself chiefly to astronomy. He made five voyages to the North Seas. In the first he sailed from Lynn to Iceland, with company, whom he left on the sea coast, while he travelled up into the island himself in search of discoveries. He presented his charts of the North Seas, at his return, to Edward III, in 1360. See Hakluyt's voyages.

an able astronomer for those days, sailed as far as Iceland, and drew charts of the North seas, which were afterwards made use of in the reign of Henry VI.

But the grand and useful discoveries were not made till the beginning of the fifteenth century. Prince Henry of Portugal, son of king John I, by whom those discoveries were commenced, gained greater glory than all his contemporaries. He was a philosopher, and his philosophy consisted in doing good to mankind.

Within five degrees on this side of our tropic, a promontory runs into the Atlantic sea, which promontory had been hitherto the boundary of navigation: it was called *Cape Non*; a word which implied that no body could sail any further.

Prince Henry found pilots bold enough to double this promontory, and to advance as far as cape Boyador, within two degrees of the tropic: but the pilots were daunted at this new promontory, which runs out to sea a hundred and twenty miles, environed with rocks, banks, and a tempestuous ocean. The prince, whom nothing could discourage, sent others, who could not double it; but launching far into the ocean, upon their return, they found the isle of Madera.

1419. This place, which was certainly known to the Carthaginians, had been falsely represented as an immense island; and by another exaggerated account had been taken by some moderns for America itself. They gave it the name of *Madera*, from its being covered with wood, which the word *Madera* implies in Portuguese; from whence the French have borrowed *Madrier* †. Prince Henry took care to have the island planted with Greek vines, and sugar canes, from Italy and

† A thick plant or board.

Cyprus, but originally brought by the Arabians from the East Indies. It is from those very canes, transplanted afterwards to the American islands, that all Europe is now supplied with sugar.

Prince Henry kept possession of Madera, but he was obliged to resign the Canaries to the Spaniards. These people had recourse to Lewis de la Cerda's right, and to the bull of pope Clement V.

Cape Boyador had struck such a terror into all navigators, that for thirteen years not one of them would venture again to double it. At length prince Henry's steadiness inspired them with courage. They passed the tropic, and sailed

1446.

near four hundred leagues further, to cape Verd. By this perservance they found the

1460.

cape Verd islands, and the Azores. If it

be true, that here they saw upon a rock,

1461.

the statue of a man on horseback, with his

left hand on the horse's mane, and pointing to the west with his right, it is probable that this was a Carthaginian monument; which seems to be further corroborated by the inscription in unknown characters.

Almost the whole coast of Africa, so far as they had surveyed, was subject to the emperors of Morocco, who extended their empire and religion through immense deserts, from the streights of Gibraltar to the streights of Senegal. But the country was very thinly peopled, and the inhabitants were not much above the degree of brutes. When the Portuguese had got beyond the river of Senegal, they were surprized to find the people of a jet black to the southward of this river, while they were ash-coloured to the north. These discoveries were at that time more curious than profitable. They had been obliged to send colonies to the islands; and the commerce of the western parts of Africa did not prove very beneficial. At length,
under

under king John II, they found gold, in small quantities, on the coast of Guinea, by which the English distinguished a coin made of gold from that country.

The Portuguese were the only people that had the glory of extending the limits of the earth; they passed the equator, and upon the discovery of the kingdom of Congo, they perceived a new heaven, and new stars.

Then it was that the Europeans, for the first time, saw the south pole, and the four adjoining stars. It is very extraordinary that Dante should have taken notice of those four stars above a hundred years before. *I turned towards my right hand, says he, in the first canto of his Purgatory, and I viewed the other pole: there I perceived four stars, which were never known before, except in the first age of the world.* This prediction seems much stronger than that of Seneca the tragedian, who, in his Medea, saith, *that the time will come when the ocean shall not separate nations, that a new Tiphys shall discover a new world, and that Thule will not be the utmost boundary of the earth.*

This vague notion of Seneca's is only a probable conjecture, founded on the progress that might be made in navigation; and Dante's prophecy has really no sort of relation to the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards. The more this prophecy is clear, the less it is true. It is by mere chance that the south pole and these four stars are predicted in Dante. He spoke only in a figurative sense; for his poem is one continued allegory. By this pole he means the terrestrial paradise; these four stars, unknown to all but those of the first age of the world, are the four cardinal virtues, which disappeared with the days of innocence. Were we thus to scrutinize into most of the predictions contained in a number of books, we should find that ne-
ver

ver any thing was predicted; but that the knowledge of futurity appertains to the Deity alone, or to those whom he inspires.

Before that time it was not known whether the touched needle would point to the Antarctic pole, upon drawing towards it. The direction proved constant to the north. The Portuguese sailed on to the most southern part of Africa, 1486. ca, where the stormy cape frightened them much more than that of Boyador; but the king still flattered himself to find beyond that cape a way for circumnavigating the continent of Africa, and for trading to the East-Indies: from that time they called it the cape of Good Hope; a name in which they were not deceived. King Emanuel, who inherited the generous designs of his ancestors, soon fitted out, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the whole kingdom of Portugal, a small fleet of ships, under the command of Vasco de Gama, who immortalized his name by this expedition.

Gama doubled the point of Africa, and 1497. sailing again through those unknown seas to the equator; he had not yet got beyond the tropic of Capricorn, when towards Sophala he met with civilized nations, who spoke the Arabian tongue. From the latitude of the Canaries, as far as Sophala, every thing had appeared to him to be of a new species; men, brutes, and plants. Great was his surprize when he again fell in with people, who resembled those of the known continent. The Mahometan religion began to penetrate into that country; the Mussulmen travelling to the East of Africa, and the Christians sailing up again by the west, met one another at a corner of the earth.

At length, having found Mahometan pilots, within fourteen degrees of south latitude, he arrived

1498. rived at the kingdom of Calicut in the East-Indies, after a voyage of above fifteen hundred leagues round the coast of Africa.

This voyage of Gama changed the commerce of the old world. Alexander, who by declamatory writers hath been considered only as a ravager, who founded nevertheless more cities than ever he destroyed, and who, notwithstanding his failings, well deserved the surname of Great; Alexander, I say, designed the city of Alexandria for the center of commerce, and the bond of nations; and such it really was under the Ptolemies, the Romans, and the Arabians. It was the staple of Egypt, of Europe, and the Indies. In the fifteenth century, Venice was almost the only city that imported the commodities of the East and South from Alexandria, and through her own industry, and the ignorance of other Christians, she enriched herself at the expence of the west of Europe. Had it not been for Vasco de Gama's voyage, this republic would soon have become the principal power in Europe; but the navigation round the cape of Good Hope diverted the source of her wealth.

Princes had hitherto waged war to extend their territories; but now they fought to establish factories. So early as the year 1500, there was no getting any pepper at Calicut, but at the expence of human blood.

Alphonso of Albuquerque, and a few other famous Portuguese captains, waged war successively against the kings of Calicut, Ormus, and Siam, and defeated the sultan of Egypt's fleet. The Venetians, as much interested as the Egyptians in opposing the progress at Portugal, proposed to the sultan to cut the Isthmus of Suez at their own expence, and to dig a canal which should join the Nile to the Red Sea. By this undertaking

taking they would have commanded the commerce of the Indies; but difficulties arising, this grand project proved abortive. In the mean time, Albuquerque took the town of Goa on this side the Ganges, Malacca in the Golden Chersonesus, Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea on the coast of Arabia Felix, and last of all he seized on Ormus in the Persian Gulf.

1510.

1511.

1513.

1514.

The Portuguese soon made settlements along the coast of the island of Ceylon, which produces the best cinnamon, and the finest rubies of the East. They had factories at Bengal, traded to Siam, and founded the city of Macao, on the frontier of China. Their ships went to the eastern parts of Ethiopia, and the coasts of the Red Sea. They discovered, and made a conquest of the Molucca islands, the only part of the world where nature has planted cloves. They were obliged to negotiate, and to fight, before they could establish those colonies; and carried on their commerce with sword in hand.

The Portuguese having, in less than fifty years, discovered a coast that extended five thousand leagues, were masters of the whole trade by the Ethiopic ocean, and the Atlantic sea. Towards the year 1540 they had considerable settlements, from the Moluccas as far as the Persian Gulf, an extent of sixty degrees of longitude. All the products of nature, which mankind set a value upon, either for use, rarity, or pleasure, were imported by this nation into Europe, at a much cheaper rate than was possible for the Venetians. The voyage from the Tagus to the Ganges grew soon familiar; and the kings of Siam and Portugal were become allies.

CHA P. CXX.

Of Japan, and India.

TH E Portuguese having settled themselves as weakly merchants, and as kings on the Indian coasts, and on the peninsula within the Ganges, at length sailed to the island of Japan in 1538.

Of all the countries of the East, Japan is not the least deserving a philosopher's attention. This empire ought to have been known to Europe so early as the thirteenth century, by the travels of the celebrated Mark Paolo, a Venetian. This man travelled to China by land; and having long bore arms under the sons of Jenghiz-kan, he had the first notions of those islands to which we give the name of Japan, and which he calls Zipangri. But though his cotemporaries used to swallow the absurdest fables, they would not give credit to the truths disclosed by Paolo. His manuscript lay a long time in obscurity; till it fell at length into the hands of Christopher Columbus, and greatly contributed to confirm him in his hopes of discovering a new world, which should join the east and west. Columbus was only mistaken in his opinion, that Japan joined the western hemisphere.

This kingdom terminates our continent, as it is terminated by us on the opposite extremity. I cannot conceive why the Japanese were called *our antipodes in morals*; there are no such antipodes among civilized nations. The predominant religion of Japan admits of a future state of rewards and punishments. What they call the divine commandments are the same as ours. Falshood, incontinency, theft, murder, are equally prohibited; which is the law of nature digested into positive precepts. Hereto they add the precept of temperance,

rance, whereby strong liquors of all kinds whatsoever are forbid ; and the prohibition of killing is extended even to dumb creatures. Saka, their legislator, lived about a thousand years before our vulgar æra. Therefore the whole difference of morals between them and us, consists in the prohibition of killing brute beasts. It is true, they have many fabulous accounts ; but in this they resemble all nations, and particularly ourselves, who knew nothing but the absurdest fables before the establishment of Christianity. Their customs are different from ours ; but so are those of every oriental nation, from the streight of the Dardanells to the further end of Corea.

As the grounds of morality are the same in all countries, so there is an uniformity in regard to some customs in civil life, established all over the world. For instance, the Japanese visit one another on new years day, and send presents to each other, as in our parts of Europe. Friends and relations meet together on festivals or days of rejoicing.

But what is very extraordinary, their government has been these two thousand and four hundred years intirely similar to that of the Caliphs, or of modern Rome. The supreme head of their religion has held the sovereignty of the empire longer in Japan than in any country in the world ; for the succession of their pontifical kings ascends without any sort of doubt, six hundred and sixty years beyond our vulgar æra. But the laity having gradually come in for a share of the government, they usurped it at length intirely to themselves towards the end of the 16th century, yet without daring to destroy either the family or name of those pontifs, whose power they had invaded. The ecclesiastic emperor called Dairi, is an idol still revered ; while the crown general, who is the real em-

peror, keeps him confined to an honourable prison. This is what the Turks did at Bagdat, what the German emperors would fain have done at Rome, and what the Taicosamas have effected in Japan.

Human nature, which in all countries is essentially the same, hath established other resemblances betwixt those people and us. They believe in witchcrafts, a superstition in which we believed a long time. They have pilgrimages, and the ordeals or proofs by fire, which heretofore constituted part of our jurisprudence; in short, they place their great men in heaven, after the manner of the Greeks and Romans. Their pontif alone, like him of modern Rome (if I may be allowed the comparison) hath the privilege of making *apothefes* *, and of consecrating temples to men whom he judges deserving of that honour. The clergy are in every respect distinct from the laity; and these two orders of men have a thorough contempt for each other. For a long series of years, they have had monks, hermits, and institutions not very different from our military orders; for there was an ancient society of solitaries, who made a vow of fighting for religion.

And yet notwithstanding this institution, which seemed to be the forerunner of such civil wars, as the Teutonic order of Prussia once produced in Europe, liberty of conscience was established in this empire as well as in all other parts of the East. Japan was divided into several sects, though under a pontif king: but all those sects agreed in the same principles of morality. Those who believed, and those who did not believe, in a me-

* An *Apotheosis* is the act or right among the heathens of deifying or adding one to the number of the gods; or a consecration of emperors; from *ἀπό* and *θεός*, a god, or divine personage.

tempsychofis *, abstained, and do still abstain, from the flesh of all animals serviceable to man. The whole nation live upon fish and vegetables: in which they seem rather to act from a principle of temperance than of superstition.

The doctrine of Confucius has made a great progress in this empire: As the whole of it consists in plain morality, it has changed the minds of all those who are not attached to the Bonzes, that is, the most intelligent part of the nation. It is thought that the progress of this philosophy has not a little contributed to demolish the power of the Dairi. The reigning emperor in 1700 had no other religion.

They seem to make a worse use of the doctrine of Confucius in Japan than in China. The Japanese philosophers look upon suicide as a virtuous action, when it does no injury to society. The proud and violent temper of those islanders, is the cause that this theory is often put in practice, so as to render suicide a great deal more common here than in England.

Liberty of conscience, pursuant to the observation of that faithful and learned traveller, Kempofer, had been always granted in Japan, as well as in most parts of Asia. Several foreign religions crept into that country. Thus, through the divine permission, a way was opened for the gospel in those extensive dominions. Every body must have heard of the vast progress it made in one half of this empire, towards the close of the sixteenth century. The famous embassy of the three Japa-

* A Greek word, which signifieth a passing of the soul out of one body into another at death, either into the body of a man or into that of some other animal.

nese princes to pope Gregory XIII, is perhaps the most flattering homage every paid to the holy see. All this vast country, where now the gospel must be abjured, and where the Dutch alone are admitted, on condition of their not performing any act of religion, was very near being a Christian, and perhaps a Portuguese, kingdom. Our priests were more respected there than with us; but now there is a very considerable reward for taking them, a reward of about twelve thousand livres. The indiscretion of a Portuguese priest, who would not yield the precedency to one of the king's chief officers, was the first cause of this revolution. The next was the obstinacy of some Jesuits, who insisted too strongly on their right, in refusing to deliver up a house given them by a Japanese lord, and which the son of that lord demanded back again. The third was the apprehension of being subdued by the Christians; and this occasioned a civil war. We shall see hereafter how Christianity, which began with missionaries, concluded with the sword.

Let us confine ourselves to the state of Japan at this time, to that antiquity which these people, as well as the Chinese, sound so highly, to that series of pontiffs which ascends above six centuries beyond our vulgar æra. Let us particularly observe, that they are the only people of Asia who were never conquered. The Japanese are compared to the English for that insulary pride which is common to them both; and for suicide, which is thought to be so frequent in both those extremities of our hemisphere. But the isles of Japan were never conquered; those of Great Britain have been often. The Japanese do not appear to be a mixture of different nations, like the English, and almost all nations in this part of the globe.

globe. They seem rather to be *Aborigines* *. Neither their laws, religion, manners nor language, have the least connexion with China; whereas China, on the other hand, seems to have originally existed by itself, and not to have borrowed from other nations till very lately. It is this great antiquity of the eastern nations that strikes us. These people, excepting the Tartars, never spread themselves far from their own home; but here you see an extraordinary instance of the opposite kind: a nation, no way powerful, extensive, or populous; a nation, in short, hardly before taken notice of in the history of the world, fits out a small fleet of adventurers from the port of Lisbon, who discover these vast tracts of land, and make such noble settlements.

Never was there a trade more beneficial to Portugal than that of Japan. They imported annually from thence, according to the account given by the Dutch, three hundred tons of gold; and what the Dutch call a tun, is known to be a hundred thousand florins. This was exaggerating greatly. But it appears from the care which those industrious and indefatigable republicans have since taken, to engross the commerce of Japan to themselves, exclusive of other nations, that it must have been immensely beneficial, especially in the beginning. There they bought the best tea in Asia, the finest porcelain, ambergris, a copper of a superior kind to ours; in a word, gold and silver, the principal end of all those foreign expeditions. This country, like China, has almost every thing

* *Aborigines* are the primitive or original inhabitants of a country, in opposition to colonies, or people transplanted from other parts. Thus the Indians are called the *Aborigines* of America; the Welch of Britain. It comes from *ab*, *from*, and *origo*, *original*.

that we have, and almost every thing that we want. It is as populous in proportion as China; and the inhabitants are bolder, and more warlike. All these people were heretofore much superior to our western nations in the arts of design, and in mechanics. But how greatly have we recovered our lost time! Those countries where Bramante and Michael Angelo built St. Peter's, where Raphael painted, where Newton ascertained the laws of the universe, where Cinna and Athalia were written, are now the principal parts of the globe. Other nations are no more than barbarians and infants in the polite arts, notwithstanding their antiquity, and all that nature hath done in their favour.

I shall take no notice here of the kingdom of Siam, which was not well known till the time when Lewis XIV, having received an embassy from thence, sent missionaries and troops to their country, both of which proved alike unserviceable. Nor shall I make mention of the people of Tonquin, of Laos, and Cochinchina: few of our adventurers have gone among them, and not till a long time after the first enterprizes of the Portuguese; nor has our commerce ever properly extended to those parts.

In all those discoveries, the European powers, and the merchants who enrich the state, had no other view than the increase of treasure. But philosophers have discovered a new world in morality and physics. The easy and open passage from all the ports of Europe, to the remotest extremity of the Indies, gave an opportunity to the curious in our parts of the globe, to see with their own eyes what they knew not before, or knew but very imperfectly from antient and precarious relations. What objects for men of reflexion, to see on the other side of the river Zaira, whose banks are crowded with

with an infinite multitude of negroes ; to see the wide extended coasts of of Caffraria, whose inhabitants are of an olive colour, and where the men cut off a testicle in honour of the deity ; while the Ethiopians and so many other African nations, are satisfied with offering part of their prepuces ! From thence, going up again to Sophala, to Quiloa, to Montbasa, to Melinda, you find blacks of a different sort from those of Nigritia, whites and olive-coloured peopled who live together. All those countries are covered with animals, and vegetables unknown to our climates.

In the middle of Africa there is a race, not very numerous, of little men as white as snow, who resemble negroes as to the form of their visage, and whose eyes are perfectly round like those of a partridge. Some of those animals we have seen in France, and others are to be found in the eastern parts of Asia.

The vast peninsula of India which advances from the mouths of the Nile and the Ganges, as far as the middle of the Maldivian islands, is inhabited by twenty different nations, in manners and religion no way resembling each other. The natives of the country are of a copper colour. In the isle of Timor, Dampier has since met with men of the colour of brass ; so great a variety is there in nature.

In the peninsula of India on this side the Ganges, there are multitudes of Banians, descendants of the ancient Brachmans, adhering to the old doctrine of a metempsychosis, and to the system of two principles, which is spread throughout all parts of India ; living upon vegetable food ; as obstinate as the Jews in refusing to intermarry with other nations ; as ancient as that people, and as intent upon commerce.

It is in this country particularly that the custom has subsisted time immemorial, of encouraging the women to burn themselves over the dead bodies of their husbands, in hopes to rise again to life.

Towards Surat, Cambaya, and the frontiers of Persia, were spread the Gebres, the remains of the ancient Persians, who follow the religion of Zoroaster, and who do not intermarry with other nations, no more than the Banians or the Jews. In India were found some Jewish families, supposed to have been settled there since their first dispersion. On the coast of Malabar lived a few Christians of the sect of Nestorius, by mistake called *St. Thomas's Christians*; they did not so much as know that there was a church of Rome: having been heretofore subject to a patriarch of Syria, they still acknowledged that phantom of a patriarch, who resided, or rather hid himself at Mosul, which is said to be the ancient Nineveh. This weak Syriac church, like those of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, was buried, as it were, under its ruins, by Mahometan oppression. The Portuguese introduced the Roman catholic religion into those parts; and founded an archbishopric at Goa, which became at the same time a metropolitan and capital. They wanted to reduce the Christians of Malabar to the obedience of the holy see; but they did not succeed. To convert the savages of America has been no difficult task: but to reconcile the churches separated from Rome all endeavours have ever proved fruitless.

When from Ormus the Portuguese advanced towards Arabia, they met with disciples of St. John, who had never known any thing of the gospel: these are the people we call Sabæans.

But after they had penetrated by the eastern ocean from India to China and Japan, and came to live in the inland parts of the country; the manners,

ners, religion, and customs of the Chinese; of the Japanese, and of the people of Siam, were better known to us, than those of our neighbouring nations in barbarous ages.

The difference between the eastern customs and ours, a difference as great as that between our languages, is an object worthy a philosopher's attention. The most polished nations of those immense countries, have nothing like our refinements. Their arts are not like ours; their food, raiment, houses, gardens, laws, worship, ceremonies, are all different from ours. Can there be any thing more contrary to our customs than the manner in which the Banians carry on their commerce in Indostan? Contracts of the greatest consequence are concluded without speaking, or writing; the whole is done by signs. But why should not such a number of oriental customs be different from ours? nature is not the same in their climates as in Europe. In the southern parts of India they are marriageable at seven or eight years of age: and such sort of marriages are very common. Those very children beget others, and enjoy their full proportion of reason, at a time when ours scarce begins to dawn.

All those different nations resemble us only by their passions, and by that universal reason which serves as a counterpoise to those passions, and imprints the following law in every breast, *avoid doing to others what thou wouldst not have done to thee.* These are the two characters which nature impresses in such a number of different men, and the two eternal bonds by which they are connected. All besides is the fruit of the soil and custom. There you might see the city of Pegu, guarded by crocodiles which swim in ditches full of water. Here you might behold Java, where women mount guard at the king's palace.

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In Siam the possession of a white elephant, constitutes the glory of the kingdom. In Malabar there is no wheat. They have no such thing as bread or wine in all the islands. In one of the Philippines there is a tree, whose fruit resembles the best tasted bread. In the Marian islands they did not know the use of fire.

True it is that we ought to be very circumspect in giving credit to the relations of those distant countries. They are more intent upon sending us merchandises than truth from the coast of Malabar. A particular case is oftentimes taken for a general custom. We are told, for instance, that in Cochin the king is not succeeded by his own son, but by his sister's. This is too flat a contradiction of nature. There is no man that would exclude his son from his inheritance. And if this king of Cochin has no sister, who must the crown go to? Probably some time or other, upon the death of a king, his son, for want of aid and advice, might happen to be excluded from the throne by an artful nephew; and a traveller may have taken this accident for a fundamental law. A hundred historians copy this traveller, and the error gains credit.

Authors who have lived in India, pretend that no body is possessed of any property in the territories of the Great Mogul: which is still more against nature. Those very writers assure us, that they have traded with Indians, who were worth a great many millions of livres. These two assertions seem to contradict each other. We should have ever present to our minds, that the northern conquerors extended the customs of feudal tenures from Lombardy as far as India. Would a Banian that travelled into Italy at the time of Astolphus and Albuinus, have reason to affirm, that the Italians were possessed of no property?

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We cannot too often explode the shocking notion, that there are countries where millions incessantly toil for one.

The same mistrust we ought to have of those who tell us of temples consecrated to lust. Suppose an Indian should happen to see a few scandalous pranks of our monks; ought he to infer from thence that this is their institution and rule?

But what most deserves our attention, is to see almost all those nations possessed with the opinion that their Gods used often to descend upon Earth. Vishnou metamorphosed himself nine times in the peninsula within the Ganges; and Sammonocodom the god of Siam assumed fifty times an human form. This idea they have in common with the ancient Egyptians, with the Greeks and Romans. An error so rash, so ridiculous, and so universal, derives its source notwithstanding from a rational sentiment imprinted in every breast. Mankind are naturally sensible of their dependance on the supreme Being: and as error generally mixes with truth, they have been made to look upon the gods almost in every part of the world, as great lords who sometimes come down to visit and reform their dominions. Among such a multitude of nations it has fared with religion, as with astrology; both are prior to historical times; and both a mixture of truth and imposture. The first observers of the real course of the stars, attributed false influences to those heavenly bodies; and the founders of foreign religions, at the same time that they acknowledged the Deity, contaminated this worship with superstition.

Of all those different religions, there is not one whose principal object is not the expiation of sin. Mankind have been ever sensible that they have need of mercy. This is the original of the frightful macerations to which the Bonzes, the

the Bramins, and the *Faquers* *, devote their days. But those voluntary tortures, designed to draw down mercy upon a sinful world, are turned into a lucrative trade.

I shall not enter into their particular customs; the discussion would be immense: but there is one so extremely repugnant to our manners, that I cannot avoid making mention of it; namely, that of the Bramins, who carry the *Phallum* of the Egyptians, or the *Priapus* of the Romans, about in procession. Our notions of decency incline us to think, that a ceremony, in appearance so infamous, was the offspring of lust; but it is hardly credible that the invention of religious ceremonies should have been owing in any nation to a depravity of manners. On the contrary, it is probable that this custom was introduced in the times of simplicity, and that the intent thereof was to honour the Deity in this symbol of life. Such a ceremony must have afterwards inspired young people with licentious thoughts and appeared ridiculous to men of judgment, when the people were grown more refined, more corrupt, and more knowing. But the ancient usage has still subsisted notwithstanding the abuse; and there is hardly any nation but has retained some ceremony or other, which they can neither approve nor abolish.

Amidst such a multitude of extravagant opinions and whimsical superstitions, who could imagine that all those Pagans in India do acknowledge, as well as ourselves, a Being infinitely perfect? That they call him the *being of beings, the supreme, the invisible, the incomprehensible; the be-*

* The *Faquers* are certain counterfeit devotees or hermits in the East Indies, who voluntarily undergo most severe penances.

ing without figure; the creator, and preserver; the just and merciful; who delights in communicating himself to mankind, in order to lead them to eternal felicity? These notions are contained in the Vedam, the book of the ancient Brachmans; and scattered also in the writings of the modern Bramins.

One of the Danish missionaries on the coast of Tranquebar, who was a man of learning, quotes abundance of passages, and forms of prayer, that seem to have been dictated by right reason, and perfect holiness. The following is taken from a book, intituled, *Varabadu*. *O supreme of all beings, lord of heaven and earth, I do not contain thee within my breast. Before whom shall I bewail my misery, if thou abandonest me; thou to whom I owe my support, my preservation? Without thee I cannot live. Call me, O Lord, that I may go towards thee.*

And yet notwithstanding so sage and sublime a doctrine, the meanest and most absurd superstitions prevail still in that country: a contrast which too often appeareth in human nature. The Greeks and Romans had the same idea of a supreme Being: yet they added such a multitude of subaltern deities, and the people paid such superstitious worship to those deities, stifling truth so greatly with fable, that it was no longer possible to distinguish between what was deserving of respect, and what of contempt.

We shall not lose time in inquiring into the multitude of sects diffused over India. The subdivisions of error are but too numerous. Besides, it is probable that our travellers have sometimes mistaken different rites for different sects: and it is easy to fall into this mistake. Each college of priests in antient Greece and Rome, had particular ceremonies and sacrifices. They did not pay the same worship to Hercules as to Apollo, nor to Juno as to

to Venus; and yet all those different worships belonged to the same religion.

Our western nations have, through all these discoveries, greatly excelled the orientals in genius and courage. We have made settlements in their country, and oftentimes against their will. We have learnt their languages; and taught them some of our arts. Still nature hath given them one advantage over us, equal to all ours; it is, that they do not want us, but we them.

C H A P. CXXI.

Of Ethiopia, or Abyssinia.

BEFORE this time our European nations had no other knowledge of Ethiopia than by name. It was under the celebrated John II, king of Portugal, that don Francisco d'Alvarez penetrated into those immense regions, situated between the tropic and the equator, of such difficult access by sea. There he found the Christian religion, not as established with us, but as practised by the first Jews who embraced Christianity before the two rites were intirely separated. This mixture of the two religions has continued to this very day in Ethiopia. Circumcision and baptism obtain alike; the Christian and Jewish sabbath are equally observed; the priests are allowed to marry; every body may be divorced; and polygamy is in use with them as with all the oriental Jews.

Don Francisco d'Alvarez was the first who learnt the source of the Nile, and the causes of the regular inundations of that river, two articles unknown to all antiquity, and even to the Egyptians.

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The narrative written by this Alvarez, was long among the lists of obscure truths : and from that time there has been a numerous crowd of authors, constantly ecchoing the established errors of antiquity, and ringing in our ears that it is impossible ever to trace the Nile to its fountain head. They gave the name of Prester John to the Negus, or king of Ethiopia, without any other reason, but because he said he was descended from the race of Solomon, by the queen of Sheba; and even since the Crusades it had been affirmed that a Christian king would be discovered in some part of the world, whose name was Prester John. Yet the Negus was neither a Christian nor a priest.

The whole fruit of the voyages into Ethiopia consisted in an embassy from the king to pope Clement VIII. The country was poor, though abounding with silver mines. The inhabitants, less industrious than the Americans, knew neither how to work those mines, nor to make use of the treasure which the earth abundantly furnished for the real wants of man.

Agreeable to this we meet with a letter from David Negus of Ethiopia, to the Portuguese governor of India, begging for workmen of every kind : this was being poor indeed. Three fourths of Africa, America, and the northern parts of Asia, laboured under the same poverty. In the midst of the luxurious opulence of our towns, we are apt to imagine, that the rest of the world are like ourselves; not reflecting that mankind lived a long time after the manner of other animals, with hardly food or raiment, in the midst of gold and diamond mines. So weak was this boasted kingdom of Ethiopia, that a petty Mahometan prince, possessed of a neighbouring province, made almost an entire conquest of it in the beginning of the sixteenth

teenth century. We have still the famous letter from John Bermudes to don Sebastian king of Portugal, whereby we may be convinced either that the Ethiopians are not the invincible nation mentioned by Herodotus, or that they have greatly degenerated. This Latin patriarch, with a few Portuguese soldiers, protected the young Negus of Abyssinia against the Moorish king, who had invaded his dominions. But unluckily when the great Negus was restored, the patriarch still would fain protect him. He was his god-father; as such, and as patriarch, he looked upon himself as his master. He therefore ordered him to pay obedience to the pope, threatening to excommunicate him in case of a refusal. Alphonso of Albuquerque did not behave more haughtily towards the petty princes of the peninsula within the Ganges. But at length the god-son, being restored to his golden throne, shewed very little respect to his god-father; for he drove him out of his dominions, and refused to acknowledge the pope.

This Bermudes pretends, that on the frontiers of the country of Damut, between Abyssinia, and the lands bordering on the source of the Nile, there is a small territory, in which the subterraneous matter is two thirds gold. This is what the Portuguese went in search of; and what they have not yet found: this is the principle of all their voyages; the patriarchs were only a pretence. It is likely that the middle part of Africa contains a vast quantity of this metal, which has put the whole world into motion: the golden sands that roll down the rivers, plainly prove that there must be a mine in the mountains. But hitherto this mine has escaped the researches of the avaricious: and in consequence of the efforts made in America and Asia, we are rendered less capable of any attempt in the middle of Africa.

C H A P.

C H A P. CXXII.

Of Columbus, and America.

TO these researches of the Portuguese in the old world, we are indebted for the discovery of the new ; if indeed we can be said to be indebted for the conquest of America, which proved so fatal to its inhabitants, and even to the conquerors themselves.

This is without doubt the most important event that ever happened on our globe, one moiety of which had been hitherto strangers to the other. All the great transactions of history appear as trifles, when compared to this species of new creation. We pronounce the names of the Argonauts with respect and admiration, though they performed a hundred times less than the sailors under Gama and Albuquerque. What a multitude of altars would not the ancients have erected to a Greek, that had discovered America ? But Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus had not these honours paid them.

Columbus, struck with the enterprizes of the Portuguese, took it into his head that some grander project might still be formed ; and merely by looking on a map of our part of the world, he concluded there must be another, which might be found by steering always westward. His courage was equal to his genius, and greater, as he had to struggle with the prejudices of all his contemporaries, and with the repulses of so many princes. Genoa, his native country, treated him as a visionary, and thereby lost the only opportunity of aggrandizing herself that could ever offer. Henry VII, of England, a prince more greedy after money than capable of engaging in so noble an enterprize, would not listen to Columbus's brother.

Columbus

Columbus himself met with a repulse in Portugal from John II, whose views were entirely directed towards Africa. He could make no application to France, the marine having been always neglected in that kingdom, and affairs being in as great confusion as ever under the minority of Charles VIII. The emperor Maximilian had neither ports, nor money to fit out a fleet, nor courage to embark in so grand an undertaking. Venice might have attempted it ; but whether the aversions of the Genoese against the Venetians, would not permit Columbus to apply to his country's rival ; or whether the Venetians had no notion of any other trade than that of Alexandria and the Levant, Columbus's only hopes were now in the court of Spain.

Ferdinand, king of Arragon, and Isabella queen of Castile, had united all Spain by marriage, except the kingdom of Granada, still in the hands of the Mahometans, but wrested from them not long after by Ferdinand. The match between Isabella and Ferdinand, paved the way for the greatness of that monarchy. Columbus began it ; yet he had been eight years soliciting, before Isabella's court would come into so beneficial a scheme proposed by a citizen of Genoa. The greatest projects are often disconcerted for want of money. The court of Spain was poor. The prior Perez, and two merchants of the name of Pinzono, were obliged to advance seventeen thousand ducats for defraying the expence of the fleet. Columbus having obtained a patent from the court, at length set out from the port of Palos in Andalusia with three small ships.

He put into the Canaries, whence he Aug. 23. was but three and thirty days sailing to the 492. first island in America : during this short passage, he suffered more by the murmuring of his crew, than by the repulses he had met with from

from the princes of Europe. This island, about a thousand leagues distant from the Canaries, was named San Salvador. Soon after he discovered the rest of the Bahama islands, with Cuba and Hispaniola, now called St. Domingo. Ferdinand and Isabella were greatly surprized to see him return at the expiration of nine months, bringing with him Americans from Hispaniola, some rarities of the country, and especially presents in gold. Their majesties made him sit down 15, uncovered like a grandee of Spain, and appointed him high-admiral and viceroy of the new world. Every body looked upon him as an angel dropt from heaven. There was a general emulation who should engage in the undertaking, or sail under his command. He sets out with a new fleet of seventeen ships, and discovers more islands, viz. the Caribbees and Jamaica. After his first voyage the public diffidence was changed into admiration; after his second, their admiration turned into envy. 1493.

He was admiral and viceroy, and to these titles he might add that of benefactor of Ferdinand and Isabella. Yet he was brought back to Spain as a criminal by persons appointed to watch over his conduct. The people hearing that Columbus was coming, ran to meet him as the tutelary genius of Spain. How great their surprise to see him in fetters!

This treatment was shewn him by order of Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, who had the fitting out of the squadron. Such ingratitude was as great as Columbus's services. Isabella was ashamed; and repaired the affront to the best of her power: yet he was detained four years longer, whether through fear, lest he should seize on the discovered countries for himself; or whether they only wanted time to inquire into his conduct. At length he was sent once more to the new world. It was 1498.

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in this third voyage that he saw the continent within ten degrees of the equator, and descried the coast where afterwards was built Carthagena.

At the time when Columbus promised a new hemisphere, he was told that it was impossible this new hemisphere should exist; and after he discovered it, they pretended it had been known a long time before. I wave mentioning one Martin Behem, of Nurenberg, who, they say, went from this last city to the streight of Magellan in 1460, with a patent from the duchess of Burgundy; for as there was no reigning duchess at that time, she could grant no such patent. Nor shall I take notice of the maps pretended to have been drawn by the said Martin Behem, nor of the contradictions which discredit this fable. But after all, they did not say that Martin Behem had peopled America; this honour was attributed to the Carthaginians: in proof of which they quoted a book of Aristotle's, which that philosopher never composed. Some there were who fancied they found a conformity between the Caribbee language and the Hebrew, and did not fail to follow so fine a chase. Others pretended to know, that Noah's children having settled in Siberia, travelled over to Canada upon the ice, and that the posterity of those who were born in Canada went and peopled Peru. According to others, the Chinese and the Japanese sent colonies into America, who carried lions with them for their amusement, though there are no lions either in Japan or China. Thus have the learned often reasoned on the inventions of men of genius. You want to know, who it is that peopled America? Might not I say, it is he that makes the trees and the grass to grow on that continent?

The answer which Columbus gave to his enemies, is famed in story, Nothing, they said, was more easy than his discoveries. He proposed to the

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company to make an egg stand on an end : none of them having been able to do it, he broke one end, and it stood directly. This is extremely easy, said the standers by : and why did not you think of it ? replied Columbus. The story is told also of Brunelleschi, who reformed the taste of architecture at Florence, long before Columbus's time. Most witty sayings are only a repetition of what has been said before.

The ashes of Columbus are no longer sensible of the glory which he enjoyed in his life time, for doubling the works of the creation. But mankind love to do justice to the dead : whether it be that they flatter themselves with the vain hopes that this will be a means to obtain it for the living ; or whether it be owing to a natural love of truth. Americus Vesputius, a merchant of Florence, had the honour of giving his name to one half of the globe, where he was not master of one inch of land : he pretends to have been the first who discovered the continent. Even were it true that he had made this discovery, still the honour would not have been his ; but must certainly belong to the person who had the genius and courage to undertake the first voyage. The honour, as Newton says in his dispute with Leibnitz, is due only to the inventor : those who come after him, are no more than disciples. Columbus had made three voyages already as admiral and vice-roy, five years before Americus Vesputius undertook one as geographer, under the command of admiral Ojeda : but happening to write to his friends in Tuscany, that he had discovered the new world, they believed him upon his bare word ; and the citizens of Florence ordained that every year, upon the feast of all Saints, there should be a grand illumination before his house for three days. Surely this man merited no honours, for happening in 1498 to be
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on board a squadron which sailed along the coast of Brasil, when Columbus, five years before, had shewn every body the way.

The life of this Americus Vespusius has been lately published at Florence, in which the writer does not seem to have paid any great regard to truth, nor to have reasoned justly. He complains of French authors, who have done justice to Columbus. He should not have laid the blame on the French, but on the Spaniards, who were the first that did him this justice. He says, that he intends *to confound the vanity of the French nation, who have always attacked the glory and success of the Italians with impunity.* What vanity is there in saying, that it was a Genoese who first discovered America? What injury is done to the glory of Italy, in acknowledging that we are indebted to a native of Genoa for the discovery of the new world? I designedly take notice of this want of justice, politeness, and good sense, of which there are but too many instances; and must observe, that in general the French writers of reputation, are they who have been least guilty of this intolerable abuse. One reason of their being read in all parts of Europe, is their doing justice to all nations whatever.

The inhabitants of the isles and continent of America, were a new species of men, who had no beards. They were as much amazed at the physiognomy of the Spaniards, as at their ships and artillery: at first they looked upon those new guests as monsters, or gods who came from heaven, or from the ocean. We had learnt at that time, by the voyages of the Portuguese, what a small spot Europe is, and how great a variety is spread over the face of the earth. We had discovered that there are a species of olive-coloured men in India. Negroes of several sorts were found

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in Africa, and in Asia, far enough from the equator; and when our adventurers had penetrated into America, just under the line, they perceived that the people are of a whitish colour. The natives of Brasil are of the colour of brass. The Chinese seem to be quite a different species, by the conformation of their eye and nose. But what is more remarkable, into whatever climate those men are transplanted, they never change, except they mix with the natives of the country. The mucous membrane of the negroes, which is known to be black, and the cause of their colour, evidently proves, that in every beed of men, as in plants, there is a certain principle by which they are differenced.

Nature has subordinated to this principle those different degrees of genius, and those national characters which so seldom vary. It is this that renders the negroes slaves to the rest of mankind. They are purchased on the coast of Africa like beasts of burden, and whole multitudes transplanted to our American colonies, where they live in servitude under a small number of Europeans. Experience has likewise shewn what a superiority these Europeans have over the Americans, who were so easily conquered, and though they are a thousand to one, yet have never attempted to recover their liberty.

This part of America was further remarkable for sundry animals, and vegetables, which the other three parts of the world have not, and for wanting what we have. Horses, all kinds of grain, and iron, were the principal things which Mexico and Peru did not produce. Among the commodities, unknown to the ancient world, cochineal was one of the most valuable, and one of the first imported from thence: it eclipsed the scarlet grain which was used, time immemorial, in dying the finest red.

To the importation of cochineal they soon added that of indigo, cocoa, vanilla, ornamental or medicinal woods; and last of all the bark, the only specific in intermitting fevers, by nature planted among the mountains of Peru, while she has spread the poison over the rest of the world. This new continent is likewise possessed of pearls, coloured stones, and diamonds.

Certain it is, that America furnishes at present, even the meanest inhabitants of our part of the world, with objects of conveniency and pleasure. The gold and silver mines were of no use at first but to the kings of Spain, and the merchants. Every body else was impoverished; for the multitude of people who carry on no traffic, found they had but very little specie, compared to the immense sums that filled the coffers of those, who benefited by the first discoveries. But by degrees that vast plenty of gold and silver which flowed in from America to Europe, has passed through a greater number of hands, and been more equally distributed. The price of provisions has risen all over Europe very near in the same proportion.

In order to comprehend, for instance, in what manner the treasures of America shifted from the Spaniards to other nations, it will be sufficient to consider two points; the use which Charles V, and Philip II, made of their money; and the manner in which other nations came in for a share of the Peruvian mines.

Charles V, emperor of Germany, ever travelling or waging war, could not avoid sending a vast quantity of specie into Germany and Italy, which he received from Peru and Mexico. When his son Philip went over to London, in order to marry queen Mary, and to take upon him the title of king of England, he lodged seven and twenty large chests of bullion in the Tower, together with a hundred horse
load

load of gold and silver specie. The troubles of Flanders, and the intrigues of the league in France, cost this same Philip, by his own confession, above three thousand millions of livres.

In regard to the manner in which the gold and silver circulate among the other nations of Europe, and from thence are, for the most part, conveyed to the East Indies, it is a known fact, yet very amazing. A severe law was enacted under Ferdinand and Isabella, confirmed afterwards by Charles V, and by the succeeding kings of Spain, whereby all other nations are precluded not only from entering the ports of Spanish America, but even from any share, though indirect in this commerce. One would have imagined that such a law would have enabled Spain to conquer Europe; yet Spain subsists merely by a perpetual violation of it. If we consider the commodities exported to America, she is hardly able to furnish to the value of four millions of livres, while the rest of Europe contributes sometimes above fifty millions. This prodigious trade of nations, either in friendship or at war with Spain, is transacted in the name of the Spaniards themselves, ever faithful to their correspondents, and faithless to their king, whose interest it is to be deceived. The Spanish merchants give no acknowledgment under their hand to foreigners; the only security is honesty and plain dealing, without which no trade can ever be conducted.

The manner in which they long carried on the practice of consigning this American gold and silver to foreigners, was still more extraordinary. The Spanish merchant at Cadiz, who is properly a factor to the foreigner, used to deliver the bullion to fellows known by the name of *meteors*. These men, armed with swords and pistols, took the bars or ingots, all told out, to the ramparts, and flung them over to other *meteors*, who carried them to the

boats that were waiting for them on the quay; and from the boats they were put on board the ships that lay in the bay. These meteors, these factors, these custom-house officers and guards, that never disturbed them, had every one their particular pay, and the foreign merchant was never cheated. The king having received his indulto upon this treasure, as soon as the galleons arrived, was likewise a gainer. The law alone, to speak with propriety, was deceived, a law, whose use consists in the violation of it, yet not repealed, because ancient prejudices are most strongly rivetted in the human mind.

The most extraordinary instance of the violation of this law, and of the fidelity of the Spaniards, appeared in 1684. War was declared betwixt France and Spain. His Catholic majesty wanted to seize on the effects of the French. In vain did he employ edicts and monitories, inquiries and excommunications; not one Spanish commissioner would betray his French correspondent. This example of fidelity, so honourable to the Spanish nation, was a plain proof that mankind chearfully submit to no laws but those that are calculated for the good of society; and that ordinances founded on the caprice of the sovereign, will always meet with the disapprobation of his subjects.

As the discovery of America did great service to the Spaniards, it likewise did them great prejudice. One was depopulating Spain by the number of its colonies; the other was infecting the universe with a disease till then known only in some parts of the new world, and especially in the isle of Hispaniola. Several of Christopher Columbus's companions caught this contagion, and brought it with them to Europe. It is certain that this poison, which infects the source of life, was peculiar to America, as the plague and the small-pox are distempers originally from

from south Numidia. We must not imagine that the human flesh, which some American savages fed upon, was the cause of this corruption. There were no cannibals in the isle of Hispaniola, where this disease was inveterate. Nor is it the consequence of debauch; excesses of this kind were never thus punished by nature in the ancient world: but now, after a momentary enjoyment, many years since forgot, even the chastest embraces may be attended with the cruellest and most shameful scourge that ever afflicted human nature.

In order to see in what manner this moiety of the globe fell a prey to the Christian powers, we must follow the Spaniards in their discoveries and American conquests.

The great Columbus, after making some settlements in the islands, and discovering the continent, returned to Spain, where he enjoyed a glory unstained by cruelty or plunder, and died at Valladolid, in 1506. But the succeeding governors of Cuba and Hispaniola, believing that those provinces abounded with gold, resolved to purchase it with the blood of the inhabitants. In short, whether they imagined the aversion of those islanders to be implacable, whether they were afraid of their numbers, or whether when once the slaughter began, they could set no bounds to their fury, in a few years they depopulated Hispaniola, which contained three millions of inhabitants, and Cuba that had above six hundred thousand. Bartholomew de las Casas, witness of those barbarous depopulations, takes notice, that they went out with their dogs to hunt after men. The unhappy savages, almost naked and unarmed, were pursued like deer into the thick of the forests, devoured by dogs, and killed with gun shot, or surprised, and burnt in their habitations.

This same ocular witness deposeth to posterity, that those poor wretches received frequent summons,

by a Dominican or a Cordelier, to submit to the Christian religion and the king of Spain; and after this formality, which was adding one injustice to another, they were butchered without mercy. I look upon de las Casas's narrative as exaggerated in many places; but even suppose he says ten times too much, enough will remain to strike us with horror.

It is a further subject of astonishment, that this total extinction of a race of men in Hispaniola, should happen under the eye and the administration of monks of the order of St. Jerome: for cardinal Ximenes, having had the government of Castile before Charles V, had sent four of those fathers as presidents of the royal council of the island. Doubtless they could not stem the torrent; and the natives with just reason growing implacable in their aversion, unfortunately rendered their ruin necessary.

CH A P. CXXIII.

Of Fernando Cortez.

IT was from the isle of Cuba that Fernando Cortez set out upon a new expedition against the continent. This lieutenant of the governor 1519. of a new found isle, with less than six hundred men, eighteen horses, and a few field pieces, undertakes the conquest of the most potent state in America. His first success was, his meeting with a Spaniard who had been nine years prisoner at Jucatan in the road to Mexico, and who understood the Mexican language. An American woman, to whom he gave the name of Donna Marina, becomes both his mistress and his privy council, and soon learns Spanish enough to act also the office of

of a faithful interpreter. To complete his good fortune he discovers a volcano of sulphur and saltpetre, whence he could supply his men with powder. He advances along the gulf of Mexico, sometimes courting the friendship of the natives, and sometimes committing hostilities. In his way he meets with civilized towns, where the arts are respected. The puissant republic of Tlascala, which flourished under an aristocratical government, opposes his passage: but at the sight of the horses, and the very sound of the cannon, those ill-armed multitudes are put to flight: upon which he concludes a peace as advantageous as he could wish. His new allies of Tlascala accompany him with six thousand men in his march to Mexico. He enters this empire unresisted, in spite of the prohibitions of the sovereign. Yet this sovereign had the command over thirty vassals, each of whom could appear at the head of a hundred thousand combatants, armed with arrows, and those sharp flints with which they supplied the place of iron.

The city of Mexico, situated in the middle of a spacious lake, was the noblest monument of American industry. Causeways of a great length were carried through the lake, which was covered with canoes, or little boats, made of the trunks of trees. The city was admired for its large and convenient houses built of stone, for its squares, and market-places, for its shops which glittered with gold and silver work of the finest sculpture, with porcelain utensils beautifully varnished, with cotton stuffs, with feathered tissues, whose patterns were distinguished by the liveliest colours. Near the great market-place stood a palace, or court, in which justice was summarily administered to the merchants, as in the jurisdiction of the consuls of Paris, which was not established till after the downfall of the empire

of Mexico, under king Charles IX. The numerous palaces of the emperor Montezuma, added to the magnificence of the city. Of these one stood on columns of jasper, and was designed for containing only such curiosities as administered to pleasure. Another was full of offensive and defensive arms, mounted with gold and precious stones. Another was surrounded with spacious gardens, where they cultivated none but medicinal plants, which were distributed gratis by proper officers to the infirm. The king received an account of their success, and the physicians kept a register of them after their way, without being acquainted with the use of writing. The former species of magnificence shews only the progress of the arts; the latter denotes that of morality.

Were it not in the nature of man to unite the best with the very worst qualities, we should never comprehend in what manner this morality agreed with those sacrifices where human blood was spilt with such profusion before the idle Vissiliputli, who was considered as the God of armies. Montezuma's ambassadors told Cortez, as it is pretended, that their master had sacrificed, during his wars, near twenty thousand of his enemies every year, in the great temple of Mexico. This is a most exaggerated account, designed as an excuse for the cruelty and injustice of the conqueror of Montezuma. But they say further, that when the Spaniards entered this temple, they found, among its ornaments, human skulls suspended as trophies. Thus it is, that antiquity represents the temple of Diana in Taurica Chersonesus. There are few nations whose religion has not been inhuman and bloody; the Gauls, the Carthaginians, the Syrians, were used to human sacrifices: nay, they seem to be tolerated by the Jewish laws; for we find in Leviticus, *no devoted thing that a man shall devote unto the Lord, of all that*

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that he hath, both of man and beast, shall be sold or redeemed; but shall surely be put to death.* The Jewish books relate, that when they invaded the little country of the Canaanites, in several villages they put men, women, children, and brute beasts to the sword, because they had been devoted. On this law were founded the oaths of Jephtha, who sacrificed his daughter; and of Saul, who, had it not been for the interposition of the army, would have sacrificed his son. It is likewise this law that authorized Samuel to sacrifice Saul's prisoner, king Agag, and to cut him in pieces; an execution as horrid and shocking, as any of the most abominable barbarities of the savages, and which would have been an enormous crime, if God himself, the arbiter of life and death, whom no mortal can call to an account, had not so ordained in the impenetrable depths of his justice. Besides, it appears, that among the Mexicans, none but enemies were sacrificed: they were not cannibals, like some few of the American tribes.

In every other respect, their police was prudent and humane. The education of youth was their principal care. Public schools were established for both sexes. The ancient Egyptians are still admired for having known, that the year consists of about three hundred and sixty-five days. Thus far had the Mexicans carried their astronomy.

They were acquainted with the military art; and by this they gained such a superiority over their neighbours. The great order in the revenue maintained the grandeur of the empire, which was looked upon with a jealous eye by all its neighbours.

But those warlike animals, on which the Spanish officers were mounted, those artificial thunder-

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bolts

* Levit. chap. 27.

bolts which were forged in their hands, those wooden castles which had wafted them over the ocean, the iron armour with which they were covered, the many victories obtained in their march, and so many other subjects of astonishment, besides the natural imbecility of the vulgar, which inclines them to admire what they do not understand, all this together produced such an effect, that when Cortez arrived at the city of Mexico, he was received by Montezuma as his Lord, and by the inhabitants as their God. They fell upon their knees in the streets whenever a Spanish domestic went by.

Those who transmitted these strange revolutions to posterity, have endeavoured to set them off with miracles, which in reality tend only to debase them. The real miracle was the conduct of Cortez. By degrees Montezuma's court growing familiar with their guests, presumed to treat them as men. Part of the Spaniards were at Vera Cruz, on the road to Mexico. One of the emperor's generals, who had secret instructions, attacked them, and though his troops were defeated, yet three or four Spaniards were killed; and the head of one of them was brought to Montezuma. Upon this Cortez took the boldest step recorded in history. He goes to the palace attended with fifty Spaniards, and with Donna Marina, who still acts as his interpreter; then partly by persuasion, and partly by menaces, he carries off the emperor prisoner to the Spanish quarter, obliges him to deliver up the persons who had attacked the Spaniards at Vera Cruz, and puts the emperor himself in irons, with as much ease as a general would punish a common soldier; and last of all, he engages him publicly to acknowledge himself the vassal of Charles V.

Montezuma, and the chief nobility of the empire, in consequence of their homage, agree to pay a tribute of six hundred thousand marks of pure gold, besides

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besides an amazing quantity of precious stones, with curiosities wrought by the hands of industrious artists for many ages. Cortez set aside a fifth part of this treasure for his master, a fifth part he took to himself, and the remainder he distributed to his soldiers.

One of the most amazing circumstances in this expedition, is, that the quarrels among the adventurers did not affect their conquests. Never was there a true history, so improbable. While Cortez was just on the point of conquering the empire of Mexico with five hundred men, Velasquez, governor of Cuba, more displeased at the glory, than at the disobedience of his lieutenant Cortez, sends almost his whole army, consisting of eight hundred foot, and fourscore horse well mounted, and two small pieces of cannon, to take Cortez prisoner, and to pursue his conquests. Cortez having on one side a thousand Spaniards to fight against, and on the other the continent to keep in submission, left fourscore men to secure the whole empire of Mexico, and marched with the rest against his countrymen. Part of them he defeated, and the other part he brought over to his side. At length this army, which was come to destroy him, submits to his command, and marches with him to Mexico.

The emperor was still confined in his capital, guarded by fourscore soldiers. Their commanding officer, whose name was Alvaredo, upon a report, true or false, that the Mexicans were plotting to set their master at liberty, had seized on the opportunity of a solemn feast, when two thousand of the principal lords were intoxicated with strong liquors: he falls upon them with fifty of his men, massacres them and their retinue without the least resistance, and strips them of all the ornaments of gold, and of precious stones, with which they had bedecked themselves on the occasion. This barbarity,

barity, which the Mexicans justly attributed to the thirst of gold, raised the passions of those meek people; so that when Cortez arrived, he found two hundred thousand Americans in arms against fourscore Spaniards, who were employed in defending themselves, and in guarding the emperor. They attacked Cortez to rescue their king; and in crowds they braved the Spanish musketry and cannon. This action Antonio de Solis calls a revolt; this valour, brutality: so that the injustice of the conquerors seems to have been inherited by the historians.

In an encounter of this sort died Montezuma, of a wound which he unluckily received from one of his subjects. Cortez, after having been the instrument of that prince's death, had the impudence to propose to him, that he should die in the Christian religion; and his concubine Dona Marina was to be his catechist. But the king died, in vain imploring the divine vengeance against the usurpers. He left some children behind, that were still weaker than himself, whom the kings of Spain have not been afraid to leave possessed of lands even in the kingdom of Mexico; and to this day, the descendants in a direct line from this potent emperor, live in the very capital. They are called the counts of Montezuma; but they are no more than private gentlemen of the Christian religion, and live confounded in the crowd. Animated with the desire of revenge, the Mexicans created a new emperor. This was the famous Gatimozin, who met with a still harder fate than that of Montezuma, after having armed all Mexico against the Spaniards.

Incited by despair, by the spirit of revenge, and by the most implacable aversion, the unhappy Mexicans rushed upon those very men, whom they durst not look at before but upon their knees. The Spaniards were tired with slaughter, while fresh
• numbers

numbers of Americans came on as fast as their comrades fell, without being in the least dismayed. Cortez was obliged to quit the town, where he would have been starved; but the Indians had broke down the causeways. The Spaniards made a bridge with the dead bodies of their enemies; and in their retreat they lost all the treasure which they had plundered for Charles V, or for themselves. Upon their march, every day they fought a new battle, in which they generally lost a Spaniard or two, whose blood was expiated by the sacrifice of several thousands of those wretched, and almost defenceless, Indians.

Cortez had no fleet; but he made his soldiers, and the Indians that were along with him, build nine large brigantines, in order to return to Mexico over that very lake, which seemed to render it inaccessible.

The Mexicans were not afraid to come to a naval engagement. The lake was covered with four or five thousand canoes, each containing two persons, who fell upon Cortez's nine vessels, which had only about three hundred men. The Spaniards having cannon on board, soon defeated the enemy's fleet. Cortez and his men engaged the Mexicans on the causeways. The killing of twenty Spaniards in this battle, and the taking of seven or eight prisoners, was an event of greater importance to this part of the world, than the multitudes slain in our European engagements. The prisoners were sacrificed in the temple of Mexico. But at length, after several other encounters, Gatimozin, and the empress his wife, were taken prisoners. This is the Gatimozin so renowned for the speech he made, when he lay stretched on burning coals, by order of one of the receivers of the king of Spain's exchequer, who wanted him to discover what part of the lake he had thrown his riches into: his high priest, who was condemned to the same punish-

punishment, making hideous cries; Gátimozin said,
And do you take me to be on a bed of roses?

1521. Cortez made a complete conquest of Mexico, with which the rest of the empire, as Castille d'or, Darien, and all the neighbouring provinces, fell under the Spanish dominion.

What reward had Cortez for those extraordinary services? The same as Columbus; he was persecuted: and that very bishop Fonseca, who had caused the discoverer of America to be sent back in irons, wanted to treat the conqueror in the same manner. In short, notwithstanding the titles conferred upon Cortez in Spain, he was so very little regarded, that he could scarce obtain an audience of Charles V. One day he forced his way through the crowd, that surrounded the emperor's coach, and got upon the step. Charles asked who that man was? "It is one," answered Cortez, "that has given you more provinces, than you have towns from your ancestors."

C H A P. CXXIV.

Of the Conquest of Peru.

CORTÉZ having conquered, for Charles V, above two hundred leagues of territory in length, and above a hundred and fifty in breadth, still thought he had done but little. The isthmus confining the continent of America between two seas, is not above five and twenty leagues over: from the top of a high mountain, near Nombre di Dios, on one side, you see the north sea; on the other, the south. So early as the year 1513, the Spaniards ventured upon this south sea, in search of new conquests.

Towards the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-

twenty-seven, two mean adventurers, Diego Dalmagro, and Francis Pizarro, who had no knowledge of their parents, and so basely brought up, that they could neither read nor write, were the men who conquered for Charles V, a much larger and richer extent of country than Mexico. After sailing along the coast for above three hundred leagues, they get intelligence, that towards the equinoctial line, and under the other tropic, there is an immense country, where gold and silver, and precious stones, are as cheap as dirt; and that the country is governed by as despotic a king as Montezuma: for all the world over despotism is the consequence of riches.

From the country of Cusco, and the neighbourhood of the tropic of Capricorn, to the height of the Pearl islands, which is in the sixth degree of north latitude, one single king extended his absolute sway to the extent of near thirty degrees. This prince, named Atabalipa, was of a race of conquerors called Incas; his father after subduing the whole country of Quito, now the capital of Peru, had employed his troops, and the conquered people, in making a great road of five hundred leagues from Cusco to Quito, through frightful precipices, and lofty mountains. This monument of human industry and obedience has not been kept up by the Spaniards. Relays of men were posted at every half league, to carry the monarch's orders through his whole empire. Such was their police. And to judge of their magnificence, it is sufficient to mention, that the king was carried, in his progress through the country, on a throne of gold, weighing five and twenty thousand ducats, and that the litter of gold plate, on which stood the throne, was supported by the principal persons of the state.

Francis Pizarro invaded this empire with two hundred and fifty foot, sixty horse, and twelve small pieces of cannon drawn by slaves from the conquered countries.

countries. He sails along the South sea to the height of Quito beyond the equator. Atabalipa was posted towards Quito, with an army of forty thousand men armed with arrows, and pikes of gold and silver. Pizarro began, like Cortez, with a message, offering to the Inca the friendship of Charles V. The Inca made answer, that he would agree to no friendship with those who had plundered his empire till they restored what they had robbed upon the road; and immediately he marches against the Spaniards. As soon as the Inca's army, and the small body of Castilians came within sight, the latter wanted to preserve some appearance of religion on their side. A monk named Valverde, who had been made bishop of that country, though it did not belong to them, advances towards the Inca, with an interpreter, and a bible in his hand, and tells him that he must believe the contents of that book. He then preaches a long sermon to him concerning the several mysteries of Christianity. Historians are not agreed in regard to the reception this sermon met with; but they are unanimous that it concluded with a battle.

The cannon, the horses, and the fire-arms, had the same effect on the Peruvians as on the Mexicans: the Spaniards had only the trouble of killing; while Atabalipa was pulled down from his throne, and loaded with irons.

In order to obtain his liberty, this emperor promised a very considerable ransom: according to Herrera and Zarata he engaged to give as much gold as one of the halls of his palace could hold, and as high as his hand, which he raised in the air above his head. Immediately couriers set out on every side to amass this immense ransom, and heaps of gold and silver were daily brought to the Spanish quarters; but whether the Peruvians were tired with stripping the empire for a captive, or whether

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Atabalipa did not press them, his promises were not fulfilled. Upon this the conquerors grew outrageous; and the disappointment of their avarice exasperated them to such a degree, that they condemned the emperor to be burnt alive: the only grace they promised him, was, that in case he would turn Christian, he should be strangled before they consigned him to the flames. This same bishop Valverde preached Christianity to him by means of an interpreter, and baptized him: immediately afterwards the poor emperor was strangled, and thrown into the fire. Yet some ocular witnesses, as Zarata, affirm, that Francis Pizarro was already set out to carry part of the treasures of Atabalipa to Charles V, and that Dalmagro alone had committed this barbarity. The bishop of Chiapa, whom I have already quoted, adds further, that this same punishment was inflicted on several generals, who, from a magnanimity as great as the cruelty of the victors, chose rather to suffer death than to disclose their master's treasures.

However, out of the ransom already paid by Atabalipa, each Spanish horseman had two hundred and forty marks in pure gold; each foot soldier had one hundred and sixty: they divided about ten times as much silver in the same proportion; so that the horsemen had one third more than the foot soldier. The officers acquired immense riches: to Charles V. they sent thirty thousand marks 1534. of silver, three thousand of unwrought gold, and twenty thousand marks of silver full weight, with two thousand of gold in the manufactures of the country. America would have enabled him to enslave great part of Europe, and especially the pope, who adjudged this new world to him, had he often received such tributes.

It is difficult to tell whether we ought most to admire the courage of those victorious discoverers,
or

or detest their barbarity: both flowed from the same source, their avarice, which produced so much good, and so much mischief. Diego d'Almagro marches to Cusco, through countries swarming with enemies, whom he is obliged to beat off; and penetrates as far as Chili, beyond the tropic of Capricorn. Wherever they go, they take possession of the country in the name of Charles V. But discord soon after possessed the conquerors of Peru, who fell into the same quarrels as those of Velasquez and Fernando Cortez in North America.

A civil war breaks out between Diego d'Almagro and Francis Pizarro in Cusco, the capital of the Incas. The reinforcements they received from Europe, are divided into two bodies, and chuse their respective chief. A bloody battle is fought under the walls of Cusco; the natives dare not take advantage of the divisions of the common enemy: on the contrary, there were Peruvians in each army, who fought for their tyrants. Multitudes of them stupidly waited to see which party of their destroyers they must submit to, while each of those parties did not consist of above three hundred men; so great is the superiority which nature hath given the Europeans over the inhabitants of the new world. At length D'Almagro was taken prisoner, and beheaded by order of his rival Pizarro; who was assassinated himself not long after by D'Almagro's friends.

The Spanish government was now assuming a settled form all over the new world. The great provinces had their governors. Their audience courts, which are much the same as the parliaments of France, were established: archbishops, bishops, courts of inquisition, and the whole ecclesiastic hierarchy, exercised their functions the same as at Madrid; when those captains who had made the conquest of Peru for the emperor Charles V, wanted to usurp it themselves. A son of Almagro set

up

up for king of Peru; but the rest of the Spaniards chusing to obey their European master preferable to their comrade, seized his person, and put him to an ignominious death. A brother of Francis Pizarro had the same ambition, and met with the same fate. The only revolts against Charles V, were those undertaken by the Spaniards, but not one by the conquered people.

In the midst of this civil war between the two parties, they discovered the mines of Potosi, with which the Peruvians themselves had been unacquainted. It is no exaggeration to say, that the hill of Potosi was all intire silver; nor is it even now altogether exhausted. The Peruvians worked at those mines for the Spaniards, as the real proprietors. Those slaves were soon assisted by negroes, who were purchased in Africa, and transported to Peru like brute beasts designed for human service.

And indeed neither those negroes, nor the inhabitants of the new world, were treated as human creatures. Las Casas, the Dominican, and bishop of Chiapa, whom we have quoted more than once, seized with indignation at the cruelty of his countrymen, and moved to compassion at the extreme misery of such multitudes of people, had the courage to complain thereof to Charles V, as well as to his son Philip II; and his memoirs are still preserved. He represents the generality of the Americans, as a mild sort of people, and of weak constitutions; a circumstance which naturally fits them for subjection. He says that the Spaniards viewed this weakness of constitution in no other light, than as an opportunity to destroy them; that in Cuba, in Jamaica, and in the neighbouring islands, they massacred above twelve hundred thousand men, just as huntsmen clear a forest of deer. *I have been present, says he, in the isle of St. Domingo, and in Jamaica, where they*

have

have covered the country with gibbets, and hanged those unhappy wretches thirteen in a row, in honour, as they said, of the thirteen apostles. I have seen them give the infants to be devoured by their dogs.

A Cacique †, or petty prince, of the isle of Cuba, whose name was Hatacu, having been condemned by the Spaniards to be burnt, for not delivering up all his gold, was consigned, while they were lighting the fire, into the hands of a Franciscan, who exhorted him to die a Christian, promising he should go to heaven. What! will the Spaniards go to heaven too? said the Cacique. Yes to be sure, answered the friar. Ah, if it be so, let me not go there, replied the prince. A Cacique of New Granada, which is between Peru and Mexico, was publicly burnt, for not performing his promise to fill a captain's chamber with gold.

Thousands of those Americans were employed by the Spaniards as beasts of burthen, and when no longer able to walk, they were knocked on the head. In short, the same ocular witness affirms, that in the American islands, and on the Terra Firma, this handful of Europeans murdered above 12 millions of inhabitants. *In order to justify yourselves, continues this writer, you pretend that those wretches had been guilty of human sacrifices; that for instance in the temple of Mexico they had sacrificed twenty thousand men; I take heaven and earth to witness, that the Mexicans, exercising the barbarous right of war, never sacrificed a hundred and fifty prisoners in their temples.*

From the whole that has been said, it may probably be inferred that the Spaniards greatly exaggerated the depravity of the Mexicans, and that the bishop of Chiapa was sometimes too liberal of his invectives against his countrymen. The complaints of this humane prelate were not ineffectual. The laws

* The name of the governors or princes, under the ancient Incas, or emperors of Peru.

laws since compiled for that country, have in some measure softened the hardships of the Americans, who are considered now as obedient subjects, but not as slaves.

C H A P. CXXV.

Of the first Voyage round the World.

THIS mixture of greatness and barbarity raises our surprize and indignation. The exploits of the conquerors of America are stained with scenes of horror; but the glory of Columbus is un sullied. Such is the glory also of Magalhaens commonly called Magellan, who first undertook to sail round the globe; and of Sebastian Cano, who first performed this great voyage, which in our days has ceased to be so surprising.

It was in the year 1519, at the beginning of the Spanish conquests in America, and in the midst of the great successes of the Portuguese in Asia and Africa, that Magellan discovered for the crown of Spain the streight known by his name, through which he entered the South Sea, and sailing from west to east found out those islands afterwards called Marian, and one of the Philippines, where he lost his life. This Magellan was a Portuguese, who had been refused an addition of six crowns to his pay. This refusal determined him to enter into the service of Spain, and to investigate a passage by the way of America, in order to share the possessions of the Portuguese in Asia. Accordingly after his death, the rest of the crew made a settlement at Tidor, the chief of the Molucca islands, which produce the richest spices.

The Portuguese, astonished to find the Spaniards in that country, could not conceive how they got thither by the eastern sea, when the Portuguese vessels were all obliged to sail from the west. They did not

not at all imagine that the Spaniards had made part of a voyage round the globe. A new geography was therefore wanting to settle the difference betwixt the two nations, and to amend the decree passed by the court of Rome, upon their pretensions, and the bounds of their discoveries.

It is proper to observe, that when the celebrated prince Don Henry began to extend the limits of the universe, the Portuguese desired the pope would grant them possession of all they should discover. The custom still subsisted of asking kingdoms of the holy see, ever since Gregory VII had claimed the right of bestowing them: by this step they thought to guard against any foreign usurpation, and to render religion instrumental in strengthening their new settlements. Several pontifs therefore confirmed the rights acquired by the crown of Portugal, which indeed they could not take from them.

At the time when the Spaniards began to settle in America, pope Alexander VI. divided the American and Asiatic new worlds into two parts: all to the east of the Azores was to belong to Portugal; all to the west was given to Spain: the limits of those respective rights were marked by a line on the globe, which was called the *line of partition*. Magellan's voyage disconcerted the pope's division. The Marian, the Philippine, and the Molucca islands, were eastward of the Portuguese discoveries. There was therefore a necessity for drawing another line.

All those lines were again broke through, when the Portuguese landed in Brazil; neither were they more respected by the French, or by the English, who afterwards made settlements in North America. True it is that they have only gleaned after the rich harvests of the Spaniards; however, they have established very considerable colonies in that part of the world.

One unhappy effect has followed from all these discoveries and transplantations; our trading nations endeavour to destroy each other in America and in Asia, so often as a war breaks out between them in Europe. They have alternately ruined their infant colonies. The design of the first voyages was to unite all nations; the intent of our late expeditions has been to exterminate one another at the furthest extremity of the earth.

It is a very great problem, whether Europe has benefited by the discovery of America. There is no doubt but the Spaniards at first drew immense riches from thence; but their country has been depopulated, and this treasure being shared at length among other nations, the ancient equality is again restored. The price of provisions has every where increased: so that in reality no body has been a gainer. The question therefore is, whether cochineal and the bark are of such considerable value, as to compensate the loss of so many thousands of men?

C H A P. CXXVI.

State of Asia at the time of the Discoveries of the Portuguese.

Of China.

WHILE Spain was enjoying the conquest of America, while Portugal was lording it over the coasts of Africa and Asia, while the commerce of Europe was assuming a new face, and the great revolution in the Christian religion producing a change in the interests of so many princes, let us examine into the state of the remainder of our ancient world.

Towards

Towards the end of the thirteenth century we left the line of Jenghiz-chan possessed of the supreme power in China, India, and Persia, and the Tartars carrying devastation as far as Poland and Hungary. The branch of this victorious family, who reigned in China, were called *Yuen*. This name bears no sort of resemblance to that of Oetai-chan, nor to that of his brother Coblai, whose posterity reigned an entire century. Those conquerors adopted the Chinese manners together with a Chinese name. All usurpers would be glad to preserve by law what they have extorted by arms. Were it not for the natural interest of peaceably enjoying those possessions, which have been forcibly acquired, there would be no society upon earth. The Tartars found such excellent laws among the conquered, that they submitted to be governed by them, the better to establish their empire. Above all, they carefully observed that which ordains, that no man shall be either governor or judge in the province where he was born; an admirable law, and moreover convenient for the conquerors.

That ancient principle of morality and politics, by which children are taught to pay so great a respect to their parents, and which makes the Chinese look upon the emperor as their common father, soon accustomed the nation to voluntary obedience. The succeeding generation forgot the blood which the preceding had spilt. There were nine emperors successively of the same Tartar family, while the Chinese annals make no mention of the least attempt to expel those foreigners. It is true, one of the great grandsons of Jenghiz-chan was assassinated in his palace: but by a Tartar; and his next heir succeeded him without the least hindrance.

At length those conquerors were destroyed by the same cause that ruined the Caliphs, and that formerly dethroned the kings of Persia and Assyria;

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ria; this was luxury. The ninth emperor of the race of Jenghiz-chan, surrounded with women and lamas, or priests, who governed him by turn, excited the contempt and courage of his people. The bonzes, enemies to the lamas, were the first authors of the revolution. A fellow who had been servant in a convent of bonzes, putting himself at the head of a few banditti, set up for chief of those whom the court called rebels. There are twenty such instances in the Roman, and especially the Greek empire. The globe is a vast stage, on which the same tragedy is often acted under different names.

This adventurer expelled the Tartar race in 1357, and began the family, or dynasty, named Ming, the one and twentieth of the Chinese empire. They sat upon the throne two hundred and seventy-six years, but were at length obliged to yield to the descendants of those same Tartars, whom they had dethroned. The most learned, the most opulent, and most political nations, have been always conquered by a savage, poor, and iron race. Nothing but the great improvement of artillery could bring the weak to a level with the robust, and check the barbarous nations. In the second chapter we observed, that the Chinese did not as yet make use of cannon, though they had been long acquainted with gunpowder.

The restorer of the Chinese empire took the name of Taitfoug, and was celebrated both as a soldier, and as a legislator. One of his first acts of authority was to restrain the insolence of the bonzes, with whom he was thoroughly acquainted, as having been their servant. He made a law that no Chinese should embrace the profession of a bonze before the age of forty, and extended the same to the bonzes. The Czar Peter the great followed this example in Russia. But the violent attachment to their profession, and the spirit which animates all

great bodies, soon rendered the Chinese bonzés and the Russian monks; victorious over an excellent law; and indeed it has been found much easier in all countries to abolish than to reform inveterate customs.

It seems that Taitfoug, this second founder of China, looked upon propagation, as the first of duties; for at the same time that he diminished the number of bonzes, most of whom lived single, he took care to exclude the eunuchs, who had hitherto governed the court, and enervated the nation, from all employments of state.

Though the family of Jenghiz had been banished out of China, those ancient conquerors were still formidable. A Chinese emperor, named Yngtsong was taken prisoner by them in 1444, and carried into the very heart of Tartary. The Chinese empire paid an immense ransom for him. This prince recovered his liberty, but not his crown, till the death of his brother, who reigned during his captivity.

The empire enjoyed internal repose. According to the relation of historians it was disturbed only by a bonze, who wanted to excite the people to revolt, and was beheaded.

The religion of the emperor, and of the literati, underwent no change, save only that they forbid paying the same honours to Confucius, as had been shewn to the memory of kings: a most shameful prohibition, since no king had ever rendered such services to his country as Confucius; a prohibition however which demonstrates that Confucius was never worshipped, and that there is idolatrous mixture in the ceremonies with which the Chinese honour their ancestors, and the manes of great men.

A strange opinion prevailed then in China; that there was a secret to render man immortal.

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A sort of quacks like our alchymists, boasted of their being able to compose a liquor, which they called the *immortal beverage*. This was the subject of a thousand fables which overspread Asia, and were taken for real history. It is said, that more Chinese emperors than one expended immense sums for this receipt: which is just as if the orientals believed that our European kings ever made a serious inquiry after the *fountain of youth*, as well known in the ancient Gallic romances, as the cup of immortality in the oriental tales.

Under the dynasty of Yven, that is, under the posterity of Jenghiz-chan, and that of the restorers known by the name of Ming, the arts dependent on wit and fancy were more cultivated than ever: it was neither such wit, nor such fancy as ours; yet we find in their little romances the same ground-work, with which all nations are pleased; such as unforeseen misfortunes, unexpected advantages, or discoveries. We meet with very little of the absurd or incredible, like the metamorphoses invented by the Greeks, and embellished by Ovid, or the Arabian nights entertainment, or the fables of Boiardo and Ariosto. The invention of the Chinese fables seldom departs from verisimilitude, and always has a moral tendency.

The Chinese began to have a general taste for theatrical diversions in the fourteenth century; and it has continued ever since. It was impossible they could have borrowed this art of any other nation: they were ignorant that such a place as Greece ever existed; and neither the Turks nor Tartars could communicate the Greek performances to them. The art was therefore their own; but a Chinese tragedy translated lately into French, shews plainly that they have not brought the drama to perfection. This tragedy, intitled the Or-

phan of Tchao, was written in the fourteenth century, and is given us as the best extant in that nation. True it is, that dramatic performances were then in a very rude state in Europe; nay, the art was hardly known. It is our characteristic to make ourselves perfect in every thing; and that of the Chinese has been hitherto to continue where they are. This tragedy is probably in the same taste as the first essays of Æschylus. The Chinese, ever superior in moral philosophy, have made but a slender progress in the other sciences. This is because nature has given them plain good sense, but no strength of genius.

They generally write as they paint, without knowing the secrets of the art. Their paintings have been hitherto void of ordonnance, perspective, and clare-obscur: while their writings partake of the same weakness. But it seems that their productions are remarkable for a prudent mediocrity, and true simplicity, which has not the least taint of the bombastic style of the other Orientals. In such of their moral tracts as are come to our hands, we find no far-fetched parables, no strained or unnatural comparisons. They are the only people in Asia that do not speak in enigmas. It is not long since we read some reflexions of a Chinese sage, concerning the manner of attaining that small portion of happiness of which humanity is capable; and these reflexions are precisely the same as we find in most of our books.

The theory of physic is as yet a system of absurdity and error in China. And yet their physicians have tolerable practice. Nature would not have the life of man dependent on the improvement of the medical art. The Greeks knew very well how to bleed, without being acquainted with the circulation of the blood. Experience and good sense have established the practice of physic

all

all over the world ; it is every where a conjectural art, which sometimes assists, and sometimes proves destructive to nature.

Upon the whole, the spirit of order and moderation, a love for the sciences, the cultivation of the several arts useful to life, and a prodigious number of inventions to facilitate the acquirement of those arts, constituted the Chinese wisdom. It is this that polished the Tartar conquerors, and incorporated them with the nation. This is an advantage the Greeks have not been able to acquire over the Turks. In a word, the Chinese expelled their masters; while the Greeks never so much as dreamt of attempting to recover their liberty.

When we mention the wisdom which has presided over the constitution of China these four thousand years, we do not pretend to include the common people, who in all countries must be employed in manual labour. The spirit of a nation is ever confined to the few who employ, who feed, and who govern the many. And indeed this spirit of the Chinese nation is the most ancient monument of reason in the whole world.

Notwithstanding the excellency of this government, it was disfigured by great abuses, inseparably annexed to human condition, and especially to a vast empire. The chief of these, not remedied till lately, was the custom of exposing their children, in hopes they would be taken care of by the opulent. Thus a great number of subjects were lost: and the extreme populousness of the country hindered the government from preventing this mischief. They looked upon mankind in the same light as the fruits of the earth, great part of which is suffered to perish, and run to waste, when there is enough left for use. The Tartar conquerors might have furnished subsistence to those deserted children, and raised colonies of them

to people the wilds of Tartary. But they never thought of it; and even in our western world, which stood more in need of a reparation of the human species, we had not yet applied a remedy to this evil, though it did us more mischief. There was never a foundling-hospital in London till within these few years. It requires a vast many ages to perfect human nature.

C H A P. CXXVII.

Of the Tartars.

AS the Chinese, though twice subdued, the first time by Jenghiz-chan, in the thirteenth century; and the second, in the seventeenth, have ever been the first people of Asia, in regard to the arts and to laws; so the Tartars have been the first in the profession of arms. It is mortifying to human nature, that strength should always prevail over wisdom, and that those barbarians should have conquered very near our whole hemisphere, as far as mount Atlas. They subverted the Roman empire in the fifth century, and conquered Spain, with all that the Romans were possessed of in Africa: we have afterwards seen how they subdued the caliphs of Babylon.

Mahmoud, who conquered Persia and India, towards the end of the tenth century, was a Tartar. He is hardly known at present in this western part of the world, except by the answer of a poor woman, that applied to him in India for justice, against a person who had robbed and murdered her son, in the province of Yrac in Persia: how would you have me do justice at such a distance? said the sultan: and why then did you conquer, when you could not govern us? replied the mother.

Jenghiz-

Jenghiz-chan marched from the very further end of Tartary at the end of the twelfth century, to conquer India, China, Persia, and Russia. Batoucan, one of his sons, ravaged as far as the frontiers of Germany. Of the vast empire of Capshac, Batoucan's share, there remains no more than Crim Tartary, which is possessed by his descendants under the protection of the Turks.

Tamerlane, who subdued so great a part of Asia, was a Tartar, and also of the line of Jenghiz.

Ushun Casan, who reigned in Persia, was likewise born in Tartary.

In short, if we direct our eye to where the Ottomans came from, we shall see them rise from the eastern shore of the Caspian sea, to reduce Asia Minor, Arabia, Egypt, Constantinople, and Greece, under their yoke.

After such an emigration of conquerors, let us see what remained in those vast deserts of Tartary in the sixteenth century. To the north of China were those same Monguls, and those Manchews, who made a conquest of this country under Jenghiz, and recovered it once more a century ago. They professed that religion the head of which is the Dalai Lama in little Tibet. Their deserts border on those of Russia. The country, from thence to the Caspian sea, is inhabited by the Elhuts, the Calcas, the Calmucks, and a hundred hords of vagrant Tartars. The Usbecs did and still do reside in the country of Samarcand; they are all very poor, and do but just know that from their country issued forth those swarms, who conquered the richest provinces of the earth.

C H A P. CXXVIII.

Of the Mogul.

THE race of Tamerlane reigned in Mogulstan. This kingdom of India had not been intirely subdued by Tamerlane. The children of that conqueror went to war with one another for the division of his dominions, in the same manner as the successors of Alexander ; and India was very unhappy. The people of this country, who are naturally enervated by the climate, made but a weak stand against the posterity of their conquerors. The sultan Babar, great grandson of Tamerlane, subdued the whole tract of land from Samarcand as far as Agra.

At that time there were four principal nations settled in India ; the Mahometan Arabians called Patans, who had kept possession of some provinces since the tenth century ; the ancient Persis or Gebres, who took shelter here since the time of Omar ; the Tartars of Jenghiz-chan and Tamerlane ; and lastly, the real Indians in different tribes.

The Patan Mahometans were still the most powerful, since, towards the year 1530, a mussulman, whose name was Chircha, deposed the sultan Amaium, son of that Babar, and obliged him to take shelter in Persia. Solyman, the natural enemy of the Persians, protected the Mahometan usurper against the Tartar race, who were assisted by the Persians. The conqueror of Rhodes held the balance in India ; and, so long as Solyman lived, Chircha had a happy reign. It is he that made the sect of the Osmanlis, the predominant religion of Mogulstan. That country still enjoys the fine roads bordered with trees, the caravanseras and bagnios, which he built for the convenience of travellers.

Amaium

Amaium could not go back to India till after the death of Solyman and Chircha, when he was restored to the crown by an army of Persians. Thus the Indians have been always subdued by foreigners.

The little kingdom of Guzurat, in the neighbourhood of Surat, was still subject to the ancient Arabians of India; and this is almost all that was left in Asia to those conquerors of such extensive countries, who, as we have already seen, carried their victorious arms from Persia as far as the southern provinces of France. They were then obliged to implore the assistance of the Portuguese against Akebar, son of Amaioud; but the Portuguese could not save them.

There was still a prince towards Agra, who called himself the descendant of that heroe so greatly celebrated by Quintus Curtius under the name of Porus. Akebar overcame him in battle, and stripped him of his kingdom. This conqueror did more good in India than Alexander had had time to do. His public works were prodigious: among others we still admire the great road bordered with trees, a hundred and fifty leagues in length, from Agra as far as Lahor; a magnificent monument of this conqueror, which was further embellished by his son Geanguir.

The peninsula of India within the Ganges was not yet invaded; except by the Portuguese, who made some conquests on the coast. The vice-roy, residing at Goa, rivalled the grand Mogul in pomp and magnificence, and greatly surpassed him in naval power. He had the disposal of five governments, those of Mozambique, Malacca, Mascat, Ormus, and Ceylon. The Portuguese were masters of the extensive commerce of Surat: and the subjects of the Grand Mogul received of them the precious commodities of the spice islands.

islands. During the space of forty years the Spaniards did not profit more by America; so that when Philip II. took possession of Portugal in 1580, he found himself master all at once of the chief sources of wealth in both hemispheres, without having the least share in their discovery. The Grand Mogul at that time was not to be compared to the king of Spain.

We are not so well acquainted with this empire as with that of China, which is owing to the frequent revolutions since Charlemaign; nor have such diligent observers been sent thither, as those who have given us information of China.

The compilers of the history of India oftentimes insert contradictory accounts. Father Castrou tells us, *that the Mogul has reserved to himself the full property of all the lands of the empire*; and in the same page he acquaints us, *that the sons of the Rajas succeed to the landed estates of their parents*. He assures us, *that all the grantees are slaves*; and yet he says, *that several of those slaves have armies of twenty or thirty thousand men: that there is no other law than the will of the Mogul; and yet that the rights of the people have not been invaded*. It is difficult to reconcile these notions.

Tavernier addresses his discourse rather to merchants than philosophers; for he hardly directs us any further than to find out the high roads, and to purchase diamonds.

Bernier is a philosopher; but he does not employ his philosophy in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the government. He says, like the rest, that all the lands belong to the emperor. This has need of an explanation. To give away lands, and to have the property of them, are two very different things. The kings of Europe, who give away all the church livings, are not the proprietors of those livings. The emperor who has
a right

a right to confer all the fiefs of Germany and Italy, when they become vacant in default of heirs, does not receive the revenue of those lands.

Bernier did not imagine that his words would be misconstrued so far as to think that all the Indians manure, build and toil for a Tartar. Besides this Tartar is absolute over the subjects belonging to his own domain ; but has very little authority over the viceroys, who are so powerful as to disobey him.

In India, says Bernier, there are none but great lords and poor wretches. How is this to be reconciled with the opulence of those merchants, who, as Tavernier says, are worth so many millions of livres?

Be that as it may, the Indians were no longer that people of superior knowledge, into whose country the ancient Greeks used to travel for instruction. Among those Indians nothing was left but superstition, which increased with their servitude ; as that of the Egyptians grew much stronger after they were subdued by the Romans.

The waters of the river Ganges had in all ages the reputation of purifying the soul. They have not, as yet, been able to abolish the ancient custom of plunging into the rivers at the time of an eclipse : and though there have been Indian astronomers, who knew how to calculate this phænomenon, yet the people were still persuaded that the sun was falling into the claws of a dragon, and that there was no possibility of saving him, but by dipping themselves naked into the river, and by making a great noise, which should frighten the dragon so as to oblige him to let go his hold.

The school of the ancient *Gymnosophists* * was

* *Gymnosophists* were certain Indian philosophers, who went naked, and lived solitary in woods and deserts, feeding on herbs : the word comes from *γυμνός*, naked ; and *σοφιστής*, a philosopher.

Still

still subsisting in the great city of Benares on the banks of the Ganges. There the Bramins cultivated the sacred language, which they call the *Hanscrit*, and look upon as the most ancient of all the East. They admit of genii, like the primitive Persians. They tell their disciples, that idols are made only to fix the attention of the people, and are different emblems of a deity : but as this sound theology would turn to no profit, they conceal it from the vulgar, and leave them in their ignorance, in which they find their own account. It seems as if the heat of southern climates rendered the inhabitants more inclined to superstition and enthusiasm than those of other countries. There have been frequent instances of devout Indians, striving who should be foremost in throwing themselves under the wheels of the chariot in which the idol Jaganat was carried, and in having their bones crushed to pieces from religious motives. Popular superstition joins all contradictions : on one side were seen the priests of the idol Jaganat, conducting every year a young maid before their God, to be honoured with the title of his spouse, as the Egyptians used sometimes to offer a virgin to the god Anubis : on the other, young widows were conducted to the funeral pile, where after dancing and singing, they flung themselves into the flames upon the bodies of their deceased husbands.

It is related, that in 1642, a Raja having been assassinated at the court of Cha-gehan ; thirteen women flung themselves upon their master's funeral pile. From a prodigious number of facts of this sort, there is not the least room to doubt but this custom prevailed heretofore in Mogulstan, as it does still in almost the whole peninsula as far as cape Comorin. Such a desperate resolution, in so timid a sex, strikes us with amazement : but in all countries superstition inspires the people with a supernatural strength.

CHAP.

C H A P. CXXIX.

*Of Persia, and its revolution in the sixteenth century;
of its customs, manners, &c.*

PERSIA, about this time, experienced a revolution somewhat like that which the change of religion produced in Europe.

A Persian named *Eidar**, and known to us only by the name of *Sopbi*, which signifies *wise* †, and who, besides this wisdom, was possessed of considerable lands, formed towards the end of the fifteenth century, the religious system which at present divides the Persians from the Turks.

Under the reign of the Tartar Ushun Chasan, part of Persia, flattered with the idea of setting up a new worship against that of the Turks, of raising Ali above Omar, and of having it in their power to go in pilgrimage to any other place besides Mecca, greedily embraced the Sopbi's doctrine. The seeds of this doctrine had been sown a long time before; by means of this Sopbi they ripened, and grew up to that form of a political and religious schism, which at present seems necessary between two great neighbouring nations that live in jealousy of each other. Neither the Turks, nor the Persians, had any reason to acknowledge Omer or Ali as the legitimate successors of Mahomet. The rights of those Arabians, whom they had expelled, must have been of little consequence to them; but it was of consequence to the Persi-

* D'Herbelot calls him *Haidar*.

† Others, with greater probability derive it from a word in Arabic, which signifies, *clothed in woollen*; wool being the usual dress of the poor religious among the Asiatics.

ans, not to suffer the seat of their religion to be among the Turks.

The Sophi therefore preached up for the interest of Persia, and likewise for his own. He increased in power and reputation; so that Shah Rustan, the usurper of Persia, was afraid of him. At length this reformer met with that fate which Luther and Calvin escaped; he was assassinated by Rustan's orders in 1499.

Ismael, the son of Sophi, had courage and force sufficient to maintain his father's doctrine sword in hand: his disciples turned soldiers.

This prince converted and conquered Armenia, a kingdom heretofore so famous under Tigranes, and which has made so little figure since. Scarce are the ruins of Tigranocerte to be discerned. The country is poor, and contains a great many Christians of the Greek church, who subsist by their trade with Persia, and the rest of Asia: but we must not believe that this province maintains fifteen hundred thousand Christian families, as some relations mention: this would amount to five or six millions of inhabitants; whereas the country has not one third so many. Ismael Sophi, having made himself master of Armenia, subdued all Persia as far as the Tartars of Samarcand. He fought the Turkish sultan Selim with success, and left his son Thamas in peaceful possession of Persia, which was grown a powerful empire.

It is this very Thamas that at length repulsed Solyman, after having been very near losing his crown. His descendants have reigned peaceably in Persia till the late revolutions, which have laid this empire waste.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century Persia was one of the most flourishing and happiest countries in the world, under the reign of the great Shah Abbas, great-grandson of Ismael Sophi.

There

There are few states but have had their period of grandeur and eclat, after which they decline.

The customs, manners, sense, and wit of the Persians, are as different in regard to us, as those of the several nations above surveyed. Sir John Chardin pretends that the emperor of Persia is as absolute as the Turkish sultan: but it does not appear that the Sophi depends upon a militia, like the Grand Signor. Sir John acknowledges at least that the lands in Persia do not all belong to one man. The inhabitants enjoy their possessions, and pay a tax to the government, which does not amount to a crown a year. Here are neither large nor small fiefs, as in India and in Turkey, subdued by the Tartars. Ismael Sophi, the restorer of this empire, was not a Tartar, but an Armenian; and therefore he followed the natural law established in his own country, and not the law of conquest and plunder.

The seraglio of Ispahan was reckoned to be less cruel than that of Constantinople. The Turkish sultans were often induced, by the jealousy of the throne, to order their relations to be strangled. The Sophis were content with depriving them of their sight. In China they never imagined that the security of the throne required them to murder or blind their brothers or nephews. They left them possessed of honours without authority. All this sheweth, that the Chinese were the most humane, and the wisest people of the East.

The kings of Persia have preserved the custom of receiving presents from their subjects. This custom is established in Mogulstan, and in Turkey: heretofore it obtained also in Poland, the only kingdom where it appeareth reasonable; for as the kings of that country have but a very slender revenue, they stand in need of such aids. The Grand Signor, and the Mogul, being possessed of
immense

immense treasures, ought never to shew themselves to their people, but in order to communicate favours. It is debasing themselves to accept of presents; yet of this debasement they form a title of grandeur. Never did the Chinese emperors demean their dignity in this manner. Sir John Charadin pretends that the new year's gifts of the king of Persia amounted to five or six millions of livres.

Persia has one thing in common with China and Turkey, to be without nobility: in those vast dominions the sole nobility is that of employment; so that worthless men can reap no advantage from the merit of their ancestors.

In Persia, as well as all over Asia, it has been always the custom to administer justice in a summary manner: strangers to council and to law proceedings, they have been ever used to plead their own causes: in a word, the maxim, that a short injustice is preferable to a tedious law-suit, has prevailed among all those people, who were civilized long before us, but have not come up to our refinements.

By the established religion of Persia, according to the doctrine of Ali, a free exercise of all other worship was tolerated. In Ispahan there still remained the posterity of the ancient worshippers of fire; they were not expelled that capital till the reign of Shah Abbas. They had spread themselves on the frontiers, and particularly in the ancient Assyria, and part of the upper Armenia, where their high priest still resides. Several families of those Samaritan Jews, who had been carried into captivity by Salmanazar at the time of Hosea, were still left in Persia; and at the time now mentioned, there were near ten thousand families of the tribes of Juda, Levi, and Benjamin, who had been carried into captivity, along with Zedekiah their king, by Nebuchadnezzar, but did not return with Ezra and Nehemiah.

A few

A few Sabeans, disciples of St. John the Baptist, of whom we have already made mention, were spread towards the Persian gulf. The Armenians of the Greek communion were the most numerous, and the Nestorians the least; Ispahan was full of Indians of the religion of the Bramins, who were reckoned above twenty thousand. Most of them were part of those Banians, who, from cape Comorin, as far as the Caspian sea, trade with twenty nations, without intermarrying with any.

In short, the Persians looked upon all religions with a favourable eye, except that of Omar, which was professed by their enemy. Thus the English government grants liberty of conscience to all sects, but hardly tolerates the Roman catholics, of whom they are jealous.

The Persians with reason were afraid of Turkey, with which their empire is not to be compared either for populousity or extent. The soil is not so fruitful, and they had never a sea-port; for at that time Ormus did not belong to them, the Portuguese having made themselves masters of it in 1507. Thus a petty European nation lorded it over the Persian gulf, and intercluded the maritime commerce of that whole empire. The great Shah Abbas, notwithstanding all his power, was obliged to have recourse to the English to drive the Portuguese from Ormus in 1622. The fleets of European nations have determined the fate of every coast they visit.

Though the soil of Persia be not so fruitful as that of Turkey, the people are more industrious, and more learned; but their learning would not merit that name with us.

As the European missionaries surprized the Chinese with a superficial knowledge of natural philosophy and the mathematics; they would have had the same effect on the Persians. The language of those people is beautiful, and has not been altered
these

these six hundred years. Their poetry is noble, their fables are ingenious. But though they know a little more geometry than the Chinese, they have not advanced much beyond Euclid's elements. They are acquainted with no astronomy but that of Ptolemy; which is still with them what it was for a long time in Europe, the road to judicial astrology. In Persia every thing was settled by the influence of the stars, as among the ancient Romans by the flight of birds and the appetite of sacred chickens. Sir John Chardin pretends, that in his time the government spent four millions of livres a year on astrologers. Had a Newton, a Halley, or a Cassini, appeared in Persia, they would have been neglected, unless they had thought fit to predict.

Their state of physick consisted, like that of all ignorant nations, in practice and experiment reduced to precepts, without the least knowledge of anatomy. This science was lost at the same time as the rest; but it revived in the beginning of the sixteenth century by *Vesalius's* * discoveries, and *Fernel's* † genius.

* One of the most learned anatomists in the sixteenth century; he was born at Brussels, but his family came from Wesel. He professed anatomy with great reputation in several universities, and was physician to Charles V. and Philip II. He died at Zante, as he was returning from a pilgrimage to the holy land, the 15th of October 1564, at the age of 58. We have an anatomical course of his in Latin, which is much esteemed.

† A famous physician of the 16th century; he was a native of Amiens, and first physician to Henry II, and Catharine of Medicis. He died at Paris, April 26, 1558. Thuanus gives a very high commendation of him.

In

In short, of every civilized nation of Asia we may fairly say, that they went before us, but that we have surpassed them.

C H A P. CXXX.

Of the Ottoman empire in the sixteenth century. Its customs, government, and revenue.

TH E grandeur and progress of the Ottoman arms lasted longer than that of the Sophis ; for after Amurat II, it was only one continued series of victories.

Mahomet II. had subdued such an extent of dominions, as might well have contented his family. But Selim I. added new conquests. He made himself master of Syria and Mesopotamia in 1515, and undertook to conquer Egypt. This would have been an easy enterprize, had he had none but Egyptians to fight against ; but Egypt, at that time, was governed and defended by a formidable militia of foreigners, like that of the Janizaries. They were Circassians, who came likewise from Tartary, and were known by the name of Mamalukes, which signifieth slaves : whether in fact the first sultan of Egypt, who employed them in his service, had purchased them as slaves ; or whether it was only a denomination that attached them more nearly to the person of the sovereign, which is the most probable. And indeed the figurative manner of speaking peculiar to the oriental nations, hath ever introduced the most ridiculous pomp of titles among princes, together with the meanest appellations among their servants. The bashaws belonging to the Grand Signor call themselves his slaves ; and Thamas Kouli-chan, who in our days put out his master Thamas's eyes, never gave

gave himself any other denomination than his slave, as the very word *Kouli* testifieth.

Those Mamalukes had been masters of Egypt ever since the last crusades. They had defeated S. Lewis, and taken him prisoner; since which time they established a form of government not unlike that of Algiers. A king, and four and twenty governors of provinces, were chosen from among those soldiers. The softness of the climate never weakened this warlike race. Besides, there were fresh supplies of men every year from Circassia, to recruit this standing army of conquerors. Such was the government of Egypt near three hundred years.

Tumanbai, was the last Mamaluke king; he is famous only for this revolution, and for his misfortune in falling into Selim's hands. But he deserves to be known for a very extraordinary fact; at least as it seems to us, though it was not such to the orientals; which is, that the conqueror entrusted him with the government of Egypt, notwithstanding that he had stripped him of the crown.

Tumanbai thus descending from the regal dignity to the post of bashaw, met with a bashaw's fate, which was to be strangled after an administration of a few months.

Solyman, the son of Selim, was a formidable enemy to the Christians and Persians. He took the isle of Rhodes, and a few years after,
 1521. the greatest part of Hungary. Moldavia and Walachia became fiefs of his empire.
 1526. He laid siege to Vienna; but miscarrying in this attempt, he turned his arms against
 1529. Persia, and proved more successful upon the Euphrates than upon the Danube, making himself master of Bagdat like his father, from whom the Persians had recovered it. He subdued Georgia, the ancient Iberia. His victorious arms extended on every side; for his admiral
 Cheredin

Cheredin Barbarossa, after ravaging Apulia, sailed to the Red Sea to subdue the kingdom of Yemen, which is rather a province of India, than of Arabia. Solyman was a greater general than Charles V, but resembled him in his numerous voyages. Of all the Ottoman emperors he was the first that entered into an alliance with the French, an alliance that has subsisted ever since. He died besieging the town of Zigeth in Hungary, and victory attended him to the grave; for no sooner had he expired, than the place was taken by storm. His dominions extended from Algiers to the Euphrates, and from the further end of the Black Sea to the extremity of Greece and Epirus.

His successor Selim II. took the isle of Cyprus, by his generals, from the Venetians. How can our historians be so weak as to tell us, 1571. that he undertook this conquest merely for the sake of drinking the luscious wine of this island, and to give it to a Jew? he seized it by the right of conveniency. Cyprus was become necessary to the possessors of Natolia: but never was there an emperor in this world that would undertake to conquer a kingdom to please a Jew, or for the sake of wine. He had indeed received some hints towards effecting this conquest from a Jew named Mequinez; hence the conquered took occasion to blend this truth with fables unknown to the conquerors.

After suffering the Turks to make themselves masters of the finest provinces of Europe, Asia, and Africa, we helped to enrich them. The Venetians traded with that nation, at the very time they were making the conquest of Cyprus; and when they had caused the senator Bragadino, governor of Famagosta, to be flayed alive. Genoa, Florence, and Marseilles, were rivals in the Turkey trade: they paid for the silks, and other commodities of Asia, in ready

ready money. The Christian merchants were enriched by this commerce; but at the expence of Christendom. At that time very little silk grew in Italy, but none in France. We were frequently reduced to the necessity of sending for corn to Constantinople. But industry has at length repaired the wrongs, which nature and indolence had done to our part of the world. By means of our manufactures the Turkey Trade has been rendered extremely advantageous to Christians, and especially to the French; notwithstanding the opinion of count Marfilli, who was not so well acquainted with this great branch of the interest of nations, as the merchants of London and Marseilles.

The Christian nations trade with the Ottoman empire, as with all the continent of Asia. We go to those people, who never come to us; an evident proof of our wants. The sea-ports of the Levant are full of our merchants. All the trading nations of Christendom have consuls who reside there. Most of them maintain ambassadors in ordinary at the Ottoman Port, while none are sent from thence to reside with us. The Turks look upon these perpetual embassies, as an homage which the necessities of Christian states offer up to their power. They have often treated those ministers with such indignity, as would produce a quarrel among European princes, who have always overlooked such treatment from the Ottoman empire. William III, king of England, used to say, *that there is no honour in regard to Turks*. This is the expression of a merchant, who wants to dispose of his goods, but does not become a king, jealous of what we call glory.

The administration of the Turkish empire is as different from ours, as their manners and religion. Part of the Grand Signor's revenue consists, not in specie, as in Christian governments,

but

but in the product of the several countries subject to his dominion. The canal of Constantinople is covered the whole year round with vessels, which bring from Egypt, Greece, Natolia, and the coasts of the Black Sea, all sorts of provisions necessary for the seraglio, for the Janizaries, or the fleet. By the *canon namé*, that is, by the registers of the empire, it appears that to the year 1683, the revenue of the exchequer amounted only to near thirty two thousand purses, that is, to about forty six millions of livres.

This revenue is not sufficient to maintain such great armies, and such a number of officers. In each province the bashaws have funds assigned upon the province itself, to maintain the quota of troops furnished by the fiefs; but these funds are inconsiderable: that of Asia Minor was not reckoned more than twelve hundred thousand livres; that of *Diarbeck* *, one hundred thousand; that of Aleppo was not more: from the fruitful country of Damascus, the bashaw did not receive two hundred thousand livres, that of *Erzerum* † was worth about two hundred thousand. Greece, which they call *Romelia*, gave its bashaw twelve hundred thousand livres. In short, all those different revenues with which the bashaws and the beglerbegs maintained the standing forces of the empire till the year 1683, did not amount to ten millions French; and Moldavia and Wallachia did not furnish two hundred thousand livres to their prince, to maintain eight thousand men in the service of the Port. The captain bashaw did not raise from the fiefs called *Zaims* and *Timars* ‡ scattered

* The modern name of the ancient Mesopotamia.

† The capital of the province of Armenia.

‡ A Timar is a lordship or tract of ground, which the Grand Signor gives the Spahi's to enjoy during life, for their

scattered upon the coasts, above eight hundred thousand livres for the fleet.

From this account of the *canon namé*, it follows, that the expences of the whole Turkish government were supplied from a revenue of less than sixty millions of livres; that these expences have not increased a great deal since 1683; and that this is not a third part of what the French and English pay for the public debts: it is true, there is a much quicker circulation, and a brisker trade, in both these kingdoms.

But what is extremely shocking, the confiscations are reckoned a very considerable part of the sultan's privy purse. This is one of the oldest acts of tyranny, that the property of the whole family should devolve to the sovereign, upon the condemnation of a criminal. They present the sultan with the head of his visir, which sometimes is worth to him a great many millions of livres. Nothing can be more detestable than a privilege of giving such rewards to cruelty, and such encouragements to injustice.

In regard to the personal estate of the officers of the Port, we have already taken notice that it belongs to the sultan by ancient usurpation, which was but too long the practice of Christian powers. The public administration in all parts of the globe, hath frequently been little better than plundering by authority; except in a few republican states, where the liberty and property of the subject are more sacred, and where the smallness of the revenue is the cause of its being better administered; for the eye embraceth small objects, while large ones confound the sight.

their subsistence; and those who enjoy them, are called Timariots,

It

It is therefore to be presumed, that the Turks have executed very great matters at a small expence. The appointments annexed to the highest dignities are inconsiderable. Of this we may judge by the musti, who has only two thousand aspres a day, which makes about a hundred and fifty thousand livres a year. This is no more than a tenth part of the revenue of the archbishop of Toledo. It is the same in regard to the dignity of Grand Visir, which, were it not for the confiscations and presents, would be productive of more honour than profit.

The Turks do not wage war after the present manner of the European princes, with money and negotiations. The united strength, and the impetuosity of the Janizaries, have, without discipline, established that empire, which supports itself by the dejection of the conquered, and by the jealousy of the neighbouring nations.

The sultans have never brought a hundred and forty thousand fighting men into the field at a time, if we leave out the straggling multitude that follow their armies. And yet this number was always superior to what the Christians could bring against them.

C H A P. CXXXI.

Of the battle of Lepanto.

AFTER the loss of the isle of Cyprus, the Venetians still trading with the Turks, and still daring to be their enemies, applied for succours to all the Christian princes, who from a view of common interest ought to have united. This was a good opportunity for a crusade; but we have seen, that in consequence of making unnecessary

cessary expeditions of that sort, necessary ones were neglected. Pope Pius V. did a great deal more than preaching a crusade; he had the courage to wage war against the Ottoman empire, by entering into a league with the Venetians, and with Philip II, king of Spain. This was the first time that the standard of the Cross Keys was displayed against the crescent, and the Roman galleys dared to encounter those of the Ottoman Port. This single action of the pope, with which he ended his days, ought to render his name immortal. In order to be acquainted with the character of this pontif, we must not depend on any of those portraits that have been coloured by flattery, blackened by envy, or sketched by a fine genius. Let us ever judge of men by facts. Pius V, whose family name was Gisleri, was one of those men, whom merit and fortune raised from obscurity to the highest station in Christendom. His zeal in strengthening the severity of the inquisition, and the rigour with which he put several citizens to death, proves that he was hard-hearted and cruel. His intrigues to raise a rebellion in Ireland against queen Elizabeth, the eagerness with which he fomented the troubles of France, the famous bull *in cœna Domini* *, which he ordered to be promulgated every year, plainly shew that his zeal for the grandeur of the holy see was not directed by the principles of moderation. He had been a Dominican friar; so that the severity of his natural character was further heightened by that unrelenting disposition, which is generally imbibed in a cloyster. But this man, though bred among monks, had royal virtues like Sixtus Quintus: these are

* By this bull excommunication is denounced on Thursday in Passion Week, against all those that dissent from the church of Rome.

not derived from the throne, but from the natural temper of the mind. Pius V, was the pattern of the famous Sixtus V: he set the latter an example of great oeconomy, by amassing such considerable sums in the space of a few years, as to render the holy see a respectable power. This money enabled him to equip a number of galleys. He zealously solicited the several Christian princes; but found either indifference or incapacity wherever he applied. In vain did he address himself to Charles IX, king of France, to the emperor Maximilian, to Don Sebastian king of Portugal, and to Sigismund II. king of Poland.

Charles IX, was in alliance with the Port; and besides he had no ships to lend. The emperor Maximilian was afraid of the Turks, with whom he had concluded a truce, which he durst not break; and he wanted money. Don Sebastian was too young as yet to try that courage, which afterwards hurried him to destruction in Africa. Poland was exhausted by a war against the Russians; and king Sigismund was worn out with age. There was none therefore but Philip II. that would enter into the pope's scheme. He alone of all the catholic princes had sufficient treasure to defray the chief expence of the armament; he alone was capable of carrying this design into immediate execution. Besides he was principally interested in the undertaking, as he found it necessary to keep the Ottoman fleet at a distance from his Italian territories, and his possessions in Africa; he therefore joined in the league with the Venetians, to whom he had been ever a secret enemy, against the Turks, of whom he was most afraid.

Never was there a great armament carried on with such celerity. Two hundred galleys, six large galleasses, five and twenty men of war, with

fifty ships of burden, were ready in the ports of Sicily by September, five months after the taking of the isle of Cyprus. Philip II. was at one half of the expence: the Venetians were two thirds of the other half; and the rest was defrayed by the pope. The famous don John of Austria, natural son of Charles V. was admiral of the fleet. Next to him in command was Mark Antony Colonna, admiral of the pope's galleys. This house of Colonna, which for so long a time had been at enmity with the popes, were now the main support of the pontifical grandeur. Sebastian Veniero commanded the Venetians. There had been three doges of his family; but none of them attained so great a reputation as himself. Barbarigo, also a Venetian nobleman, was provveditor, that is, victualler of the navy. Malta sent three galleys, and could spare no more. We must not reckon the Genoese, who were more afraid of Philip II. than of Selim, and therefore sent but one galley.

On board this fleet, historians say, there were fifty thousand fighting men. Most accounts of battles are exaggerated. Two hundred and six galleys, and five and twenty men of war, with fifty ships of burden, could not at the most have above twenty thousand combatants. The Ottoman fleet alone was stronger than the three Christian squadrons, being reckoned to have about two hundred and fifty galleys. The two fleets met in the gulf of Lepanto, the ancient Naupactus, not far from Corinth. Never since the battle of Actium had the Grecian seas beheld so numerous a fleet, nor so memorable an engagement. The Ottoman galleys were rowed by Christian slaves, and the Christian by Turkish, both serving, contrary to their will, against their country.

The

The two fleets engaged with all the ancient and all the modern weapons of offence, such as arrows, long javelins, squibs, grappling-irons, cannon, muskets, pikes and swords. They fought hand to hand on most of the galleys grappled together, as on a field of battle. The Christians obtained a victory so much the more honourable as it was the first of the kind. Oct. 5. 1571.

Don John of Austria, and Veniero the Venetian commander, attacked the Ottoman admiral whose name was Ali. He was taken with his galley: immediately they struck off his head, and put it on the top of his own flag. This was abusing the right of war; but they who had flayed Bragadino alive in Famogasta, deserved no better treatment. The Turks lost above a hundred and fifty vessels that day. It is difficult to ascertain the number of the slain: they were said to be about fifteen thousand; and near five thousand Christian slaves were set at liberty. The Venetians celebrated this victory with extraordinary rejoicings. Constantinople was in the utmost consternation. Pope Pius V, hearing of this great victory, which was attributed chiefly to Don John the high-admiral, but to which the Venetians had contributed the most, cried out, *there was a man sent from God, whose name was John*; which words were afterwards applied to John Sobieski, king of Poland, when he raised the siege of Vienna.

Don John of Austria all of a sudden acquired the highest reputation that ever captain enjoyed. Modern nations tell the list of their own heroes, but never mind those of foreign countries. Don John, as the avenger of Christendom, was the universal hero: they compared him to his father Charles V, to whom in other respects he bore a greater resemblance than Philip. This idolatry of the people he more particularly deserved, two

years afterwards, when he took Tunis, like Charles V, and in the same manner made an African king tributary of Spain. But what advantage did Christendom derive from the battle of Lepanto? or from the conquest of Tunis? The Venetians gained not one foot of ground from the 1574. Turks; while the Ottoman admiral, without any difficulty, recovered the kingdom of Tunis, where all the Christians were put to the sword. One would imagine that the Turks had won the battle of Lepanto.

C H A P. CXXXII.

Of the coast of Barbary.

THE coast of Barbary, from Egypt, as far as the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, increased the empire of the sultans, who were rather protectors than sovereigns of that country. Barca and its deserts, heretofore so famous for the temple of Jupiter Ammon, depended on the bashaw of Egypt. Cyrene had its particular governor. Tripoli, which presents itself to us next as we travel westward, having been taken by Peter of Navarre in the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic in 1510, was given by Charles VI. to the knights of Malta. But Solyman's admirals seized it, and ever since that time it has been governed in the form of a republic, at the head of which presides a general called the Dey, elected by the militia.

Farther on we find the kingdom of Tunis, the ancient residence of the Carthaginians. We have seen how Charles V. appointed a king over this country, and made him tributary to Spain; how don John afterwards recovered it from the Moors with the same glory as his father Charles V; how

how at length the Ottoman admiral under Selim II. restored the Mahometan dominion at Tunis, and put all the Christians to the sword, three years after the famous battle of Lepanto, in which don John gained so much glory, and the Venetians so little advantage. This province was afterwards governed in the same manner as Tripoli.

The kingdom of Algiers, the boundary of the Turkish empire in Africa, is the ancient Mauritania, so famous for the kings Juba, Syphax, and Masinissa. There are scarce any vestiges of Cirte their capital, no more than of Carthage, Memphis, nor even of Alexandria, which does not so much as stand in the same place where Alexander built it. Juba's kingdom was grown so trifling a concern, that Cheredin Barbarossa chose rather to be admiral to the grand Signor than king of Algiers. This province he resigned to Solyman, and from a king he condescended to be a bashaw; since which time, till the beginning of the seventeenth century, Algiers was governed by bashaws sent thither by the Port. But at length the same form of government was introduced here as at Tripoli and Tunis; and Algiers is now a nest of pirates.

Constantinople was always looked upon as the capital of these extensive countries. Its situation seems to have formed it for empire; having Asia in front, and Europe behind its back. Its harbour, safe and spacious, opens and shuts the passage of the Black Sea towards the east, and of the Mediterranean to the west. Rome far less advantageously situated, in an ungrateful soil, and a corner of Italy, seemed to be not near so well seated for establishing a dominion over nations; and yet she rose to be the capital of an empire thrice more extensive than that of the Turks. The reason is, the ancient Romans met with no na-

tion that understood the art of war so well as themselves; whereas the Ottomans, after the conquest of Constantinople, found the troops belonging to almost all the other nations of Europe as warlike, and better disciplined than their own.

C H A P. CXXXIII.

Of the kingdom of Fez and Morocco.

THE Grand Signor's protection does not reach so far as the empire of Morocco, a vast country comprehending part of Mauritania Tingitana. Tangiers was the capital of the Roman colony. From thence came those Moors who made the conquest of Spain. This place was taken towards the end of the fifteenth century by the Portuguese, and given away in our times to Charles II, king of England, in portion with the infanta of Portugal. At length Charles II. relinquished it to the kings of Morocco; so that few towns have undergone more revolutions.

The empire of Morocco is peopled by the ancient Moors; by the Bedouin Arabs who followed the caliphs in their conquests, and who live in tents like their forefathers; by the Jews expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella; and by the blacks who inhabit beyond mount Atlas. Throughout this whole empire, in their houses, and in their armies, we find a mixture of blacks, whites, and mulattos. These people traded time out of mind to Guinea. They travelled over the deserts to those coasts, to which the Portuguese had access by sea. They never knew this element, but as a school of piracy. In a word, all that extensive coast of Africa from Damietta to mount Atlas was grown barbarous, while several
of

of our northern nations, heretofore far more barbarous, attained the polite manners of the Greeks and Romans.

C H A P. CXXXIV.

Of Philip II. king of Spain.

AFTER the reign of Charles V. four great powers constituted the balance of power in Christendom; Spain by its treasures in the new world; France by its own weight, and by its situation, which hindered the communication between the vast dominions of Philip II; Germany by the multitude of princes, who, though divided among themselves, were united for the defence of their country; England, after the death of queen Mary, by the political conduct of queen Elizabeth only, for its dominions were no great matter: Scotland, instead of forming a compact body with England, was its enemy; and Ireland a burthen.

The northern kingdoms made no part of the political system of Europe; nor could Italy be considered as a preponderating power, since Philip II. seemed to have fast hold of it. Philibert duke of Savoy, governor of the Netherlands, depended on him intirely. Charles Emanuel son of that Philibert, and son-in-law of Philip II. was in the same state of dependance. His sovereignty of the Milanese and of the two Sicilies, and especially his treasures, made the other states of Italy tremble for their liberty. In short, Philip II. acted the principal, but not the most striking character on the European stage. Cotemporary princes of inferior power, such as queen Elizabeth, and especially Henry IV. have left behind them a greater name. His generals and his enemies were

in greater esteem than himself: the names of Alexander Farnese and of the princes of Orange are far above his. Posterity makes a great difference between power and glory.

To have a thorough knowledge of the reign of Philip II. we ought first of all to be well acquainted with his character, which has been partly the spring of all the great revolutions in his age; but the only way to learn his character is by facts. We should ever suspect the pencil of contemporaries, generally directed by flattery or hatred. And as for those studied characters of ancient personages drawn by modern historians, we ought to look upon them as romance.

They who have lately compared Philip II. to Tiberius, were certainly strangers to both. Besides, when Tiberius led the Roman legions into the field, he was at their head: but Philip skulked in a chapel between two Franciscan friars, while the prince of Savoy, and that same count Egmont whom he afterwards beheaded, won the battle of St. Quintin. Tiberius was neither superstitious nor an hypocrite; but Philip oftentimes held a crucifix in his hand; while he was commanding the massacre of thousands. There is no resemblance between the debauchery of the Roman and the voluptuousness of the Spaniard. Even the dissimulation, which formed the characteristic of both, seems to be different: that of Tiberius appears to be more crafty; that of Philip more sullen. We must distinguish between speaking in order to deceive, and keeping silence in order to be impenetrable. Both appear to have had a cool, studied cruelty: but have not many other princes and persons in public station merited the same reproach?

In order to form a just idea of Philip, we must ask ourselves what opinion we can have of a sovereign

vereign that pretends to piety, while he is publicly accused, in the manifesto of William prince of Orange, of being secretly married to donna Isabella Osorio, at the very time that he espoused his first wife Mary of Portugal. He is further charged in the face of all Europe, by this very William, with the murder of his son, and with the poisoning of his third wife Isabella of France. He is charged also with having compelled the prince of Ascoli to marry a woman, who was then pregnant by the king himself. We ought not intirely to depend upon the testimony of an enemy; but this enemy was a prince respected in Europe. He dispersed his manifesto and his articles of complaint in every court. Was it pride, or the force of truth that hindered Philip from answering? Could he despise that terrible manifesto of the prince of Orange, just as we despise those obscure libels, composed by worthless vagrants, whom even private people refuse now to answer, as Lewis XIV. never answered them? To these articles, which are but too well supported, let us add Philip's amours with the wife of his favourite Ruigomes, the murder of Escovedo, the prosecution of Antony Perez who had assassinated Escovedo by his orders; and at the same time let us remember, that this is the very man who was always boasting of his zeal for religion, and who sacrificed every thing to this zeal.

As a contrast to this behaviour let us view on the other hand his steady administration of justice, which indeed requires only the trouble of resolving, though it is the main support of authority; let us view also his application in the cabinet; his assiduity in public affairs; his vigilance in observing his ministers, whom he always mistrusted; his attention to see every thing by himself, as far as kings can see; his unwearied diligence

ligence in fomenting divisions among his neighbours; while he maintained his own kingdom in peace; his eye ever open to a great part of the globe from Mexico to the further end of Sicily; his composure of countenance; his constant gravity in the midst of political vexations and the internal tumult of passions; and then we may be able to draw a character of Philip II.

But we must see what weight he had in Europe. He was sovereign of Spain, of the Milanese, of the two Sicilies, and of all the Netherlands: his ports were filled with ships: his father had left him the bravest and the best disciplined troops in Europe, commanded by the companions of his victories. His second wife, Mary queen of England, directed entirely by his counsels, condemned the protestants to the flames, and declared war against France upon the receipt of a letter from her husband. He might reckon England as one of his kingdoms. The immense treasure in gold and silver which flowed in upon him from America, rendered him more powerful than Charles V, who had tasted only the first fruits of it.

Italy was afraid of being enslaved; this determined pope Paul IV. of the family of Caraffa, born a subject of Spain, to throw his weight on the side of France, as Clement VII. had done before. Like the rest of his predecessors, he would fain establish a balance of power; but neither he nor they had strength sufficient to hold it. To Henry II. he proposed settling Naples and Sicily on a son of France.

It had been ever the ambition of the house of Valois to conquer the Milanese and the two Sicilies. The pope thinking he had an army, desires king Henry II. to send him the celebrated Francis de Guise to command it; but most of the cardinals were pensioners of Philip. Paul
was

was ill obeyed ; he had but a few troops, which only exposed Rome to the danger of being taken and ransacked by the duke of Alva under Philip II, as it had been treated before under Charles V. The duke of Guise takes his way through Piedmont, where the French were still possessed of Turin ; from thence he marches to- Aug. 10, wards Rome with a few gendarmes ; 1557. and scarce is he arrived, when he hears of the unlucky battle of St. Quintin in Picardy, where the French were defeated.

Queen Mary had lent eight thousand men to Philip her husband against France: he went over to London to see them embark, but not to lead them against the enemy. Those troops joined to the flower of the Spanish forces commanded by Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age, obtained so compleat a victory over the French army at St. Quintin, that the infantry was quite demolished, being all killed or taken prisoners: the conquerors lost no more than fourscore men: the constable de Montmorency and almost all the general officers were made prisoners: the duke d'Enghien was mortally wounded, the flower of the French nobility destroyed: all France in consternation, and in mourning. The battles of Creci, of Poitiers, of Agincourt were not more decisive; and yet France so often upon the brink of ruin was still preserved.

All the schemes of Henry II. against Italy proved abortive; and the duke of Guise was recalled. In the mean time the victorious Philibert Emanuel of Savoy takes St. Quintin. He might have marched up to the gates of Paris, where Henry II. was throwing up some works in a hurry, which shews the ill state of its fortifications. But Philip was satisfied with going to see his victorious army. He was an instance that important events oftentimes depend
on

on the character of particular men. He attributed very little to bravery, but all to politics. He gave his enemy time to breathe, with a view to gain more by a peace of his own dictating, than by victories in which he could have no share himself. By this means he allows time to the duke of Guise to return from Italy, to assemble an army, and to infuse fresh courage into the kingdom.

The kings of those days did not seem to be formed to help themselves. Henry II. declares the duke of Guise viceroy of France, by the title of lieutenant general of the kingdom. In this quality he was above the constable.

To take Calais with its whole territory in the middle of winter, and during the consternation into which the battle of St. Quintin had thrown all France; for ever to expel the English, who had been possessed of Calais two hundred and thirteen years, was an exploit that surprized Europe, and set the duke of Guise far above all the captains of his age. Yet this conquest, though it reflected so much glory on the duke, and proved so serviceable to France, was not so difficult an enterprize. The queen of England had left but a weak garrison in Calais; and a fleet arrived only in time to see the French colours flying in the harbour. This loss, owing to the misconduct of her ministry, rendered her completely odious to the English nation.

But while the duke of Guise raised the spirits of France by the taking of Calais, and soon after by that of Thionville, the army of Philip II, commanded by count Egmont, the same count Egmont, whom Philip afterwards beheaded for defending the rights and liberties of his country,

July 13,
1558.

this army, I say, gained another considerable victory over the marshal de Termes in the neighbourhood of

Gravelines.

Such

Such a number of pitched battles lost by the French, and such a multitude of towns which they took by assault, gave room to believe that those people were the same as in Julius Cæsar's time, more fit for the impetuosity of attacks, than for that discipline and art of rallying, which determine a victory in the open field.

Philip made no greater advantage as a warrior, of the victory of Gravelines, than of that of St. Quintin : but he concluded the glorious 1559. peace of Catau-Cambresis, by which in lieu of S. Quintin and the two towns of Ham and Catelet restored to the French, he gained the strong towns of Thionville, Marienburg, Montmidi, Hedin, and the county of Charolois in full sovereignty. He caused Terouane and Ivoi to be dismantled ; Bouillon to be restored to the bishop of Liege ; Montferrat to the duke of Mantua ; Corsica to the Genoese ; Savoy, Piedmont, and Bresse to the duke of Savoy ; reserving to himself the privilege of garrisoning Vercelli and Asti, till the pretensions of France to Piedmont were determined, and till Turin, Pignerol, Quiers, and Chivas were evacuated by the French.

In regard to Calais and its territories, Philip did not give himself any great concern about them. His wife Mary queen of England was but lately dead ; and her sister Elizabeth had just begun her reign. The king of France however engaged to restore Calais in eight years, or to pay five hundred thousand crowns at the expiration of this term, if it was not then surrendered : specifying moreover that whether the five hundred thousand crowns were paid or not, Henry and his successors should still be bound to deliver up Calais and its territory*.

* Neither Mezeray nor Daniel have given a faithful account of this treaty.

This peace has been ever looked upon as the triumph of Philip II. In vain does father Daniel search for advantages to France in this treaty; in vain does he reckon Metz, Toul and Verdun preserved by it; they were quite out of the question. Philip paid no regard to the interests of Germany; nor did he concern himself about those of his uncle Ferdinand, whom he never would forgive for refusing to resign the imperial dignity in his favour. If this treaty produced any advantage to France, it was the disgust she took against the project of conquering of Milan and Naples. In regard to Calais, that key of France was never returned to its ancient enemy, nor were the five hundred thousand crowns ever paid.

This war concluded like so many others, with a marriage. Philip took for his third wife, Isabella daughter of Henry II, who had been promised to don Carlos; an unfortunate match, said to have been the cause of the untimely fate of don Carlos and that princess.

After such glorious commencements Philip returned triumphant to Spain, without so much as drawing his sword. Every thing favoured his grandeur. Pope Paul IV. had been obliged to sue to him for peace, and he granted it. Henry II, his father-in-law, and natural enemy, lately slain at a tournament, had left his kingdom divided by factions, and governed by foreigners, under an infant king. Retired in his cabinet, Philip was the only potent prince in Europe. He had but one thing to make him uneasy, the apprehension lest the protestant religion should steal into his dominions, especially into the Netherlands bordering on Germany; provinces over which he did not preside with the title of king, but as duke, title of count, marquis, or lord; provinces in which the fundamental laws had limited the authority of the sovereign.

His

His grand principle was to govern the holy see by paying the most profound respect to it; and to exterminate the protestants in all parts of Europe. At that time there were very few in Spain. Philip solemnly vowed before a crucifix to destroy them all; and he fulfilled his vow. The inquisition supported him extremely well. All persons suspected of heresy at Valladolid were burnt by a slow fire; while Philip from his palace windows beheld their tortures, and heard their cries. The archbishop of Toledo, and father Constantine Pontius, preacher and confessor to Charles V, were imprisoned in the holy-office; and Pontius, as already hath been observed, was burnt in effigy after his decease.

Philip came to hear that there were some heretics in a valley of Piedmont, bordering on the Milanese; he sends to the governor of Milan to dispatch a few troops that way, including his orders in these three words, *hang them all*. Being told that there are some little districts in Calabria, into which the new opinions had penetrated, he orders the innovators to be put to the sword, reserving only sixty, a moiety to be hanged, and a moiety to be burnt; and his orders are punctually executed.

The spirit of cruelty, and abuse of power, contributed at length to weaken that power, though immense. For had he treated the Flemings with more indulgence, he would never have heard of the republic of the seven provinces, whose original was intirely owing to his severity. This revolution would not have cost him such immense treasure: and afterwards, when Portugal, and the possessions of that crown in Africa and the East Indies, made so noble an accession to his dominions; when France divided into factions was on the point of receiving laws from him, and of accepting his daughter for queen; he might have accomplished his ambitious designs,

designs, were it not for that fatal war which his inflexible rigor had kindled in the Netherlands.

C H A P CXXXV.

Foundation of the republick of the United Provinces.

IF we consult the different monuments of the foundation of this state, heretofore so obscure, and since so powerful, we shall find it was formed without design, and against all probability. The revolution commenced with the fairest and largest of the inland provinces, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, which however continued in their ancient subjection; while a little corner of the earth, almost submerged in water, which subsisted intirely by its herring fishery, rose to be a formidable power, made head against Philip II, stripped his successors of almost all their possessions in the East-Indies, and concluded at length with protecting the Spanish monarchy.

It cannot be denied but Philip himself forced those people to act so grand a part, which was certainly beyond their expectations: his cruel despotism proved the cause of their grandeur.

It is of importance here to consider, that these people are not all governed on the same plan; that the Netherlands were an assemblage of seignories subject to Philip II, under various titles; that each province had its particular laws and usages; that in Friseland, and the country of Groningen, all they owed to their lord, was a subsidy of six thousand crowns; that no taxes could be laid on any of the towns, no employment given to any but natives, no foreign troops maintained; nor, in short, any

innovation

innovation made in the government, without the consent of the three orders of the state. It was mentioned in the ancient constitutions of Brabant, that, *if the sovereign, either by open violence, or by artifice, should attempt to violate their privileges, the states shall be discharged from their oath of allegiance, and may take what measures they shall judge proper.* This constitution of government had long obtained in most parts of Europe; no law was enacted, no subsidies were raised without the sanction of the states. Over those states presided a governor of the province, who was called the *Stadtholder*, or he that holds the states, in all lower Germany.

In the year 1559 Philip II. conferred the government of Holland, Zealand, Friseland, and Utrecht, on William of Nassau, prince of Orange. It may be observed, that this title did not signify a prince of the empire. The principality of the town of Orange, which had devolved, by donation, from the house of Chalons to his family, had been an ancient fief of the kingdom of Arles, but was now independent. William owed his chief lustre to the imperial house from which he descended. But though this family was as ancient as that of Austria, and had given an emperor to Germany, yet they did not rank among the princes of the empire. The title of prince, which began to be used towards the reign of Frederic II, was assumed only by those who had the chief estates in land. The imperial blood conferred no right, nor honour; and the son of an emperor possessed of no landed estate, was only emperor if elected, or a plain gentleman if he did not succeed his father. William of Nassau was count of the empire, as king Philip II. was count of Holland, and lord of Mecklin; but he was a subject of Philip, as his Stadtholder.

Philip

Philip would fain be as absolute in the Netherlands, as he had made himself in Spain. Such a desire is very natural to man, ever endeavouring to break through restraint; but he found another advantage in being despotic in so large and fruitful a country, bordering upon France; he might in that case at least have dismembered this kingdom for ever, since notwithstanding that he lost seven provinces, and that his power was greatly cramped in the rest, still he was very near subduing this kingdom, without ever putting himself at the head of an army.

1565. He determined therefore to abrogate all laws, to impose arbitrary taxes, to create new bishops, and to establish the inquisition, which he could not introduce either into Naples or Milan. The Flemings are naturally good subjects, and bad slaves. The very dread of the inquisition made more protestants than all Calvin's books, among a people who surely have no natural disposition to novelty or rebellion. The chief lords immediately met at Brussels, in order to represent their grievances to the governess of the Low Countries, Margaret of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V. This meeting was called a conspiracy at Madrid; while in the Netherlands it was a very lawful act. Certain it is, that the confederate lords were no rebels, for they sent the count de Berg, and the lord de Montmorenci-Montigni into Spain, to lay their complaints before the throne. They demanded the removal of cardinal de Granville, the first minister, whose artifices gave them umbrage. The court sent the duke of Alva into Flanders with Spanish and Italian troops, and with orders to employ the cord as much as the sword. What in any other country would have easily suppressed a civil war, was the very thing that gave rise to it in Flanders. William of Nassau, prince of
of

of Orange, surnamed the Silent, was almost the only person that thought of having recourse to arms, while the others judged best to submit.

There are men of a proud spirit, a dark disposition, and steady courage, who are roused by difficulties. Such was the character of William the silent, and such was that of his great-grandson the prince of Orange, king of England. William the Silent had neither lands, troops, nor money to oppose such a monarch as Philip II. The persecutions were his supply: for the tribunal erected at Bruxelles threw the people into despair. The counts Egmont and Horn, with eighteen gentlemen, were beheaded; and their blood was the first cement of the republic of the United Provinces.

The prince of Orange having been condemned to lose his head, withdrew into Germany. He could arm none but protestants in his favor, and in order to spirit them up, he must be of their religion. Calvinism prevailed in the maritime provinces of the Netherlands: but William had been bred a Lutheran. Charles V. fond of this prince, made him a Catholic, and necessity reduced him to be a Calvinist: for princes who either establish, protect, or change the religion of a country, have seldom any themselves. It was very difficult for William to raise an army. His estate in Germany was inconsiderable: the county of Nassau belonged to one of his brothers. But his brothers, his friends, his merit, and his promises, procure him soldiers. These he sends directly into Friseland under the command of his brother count Lewis: his army is destroyed, and yet he is not discouraged: he raises another of Germans and French, engaged by religious enthusiasm, and by the hopes of plunder. Fortune seldom favours him; incapable of penetrating into the Netherlands, he is reduced to go and fight in the Hu-
gonot

gonot army in France. The Spanish severities procure him new resources. The laying the tenth penny on the sale of moveable goods, the twentieth on immoveables, and the hundreth on lands, rendered the Flemings quite desperate. How comes it that the sovereign of Mexico and Peru should be obliged to have recourse to these exactions? And why did not Philip, after the example of his father, go himself and stifle those troubles in the beginning?

At length the prince of Orange enters Brabant with a small army; and thence retires to Zealand and Holland. Amsterdam, now so famous a city, was then a trifling place, which durst not even declare for the prince of Orange. At that time it was intent upon a new branch of commerce, low indeed in appearance, but which proved the foundation of its grandeur. The catching and salting of herrings does not seem to be a matter of high importance in the history of the world; and yet it is this that raised a barren spot to so high a degree of power. Venice had not a more splendid original: great empires have all begun with hamlets; and maritime powers with fishing boats.

The prince of Orange's whole resource was a few pirates: one of them surprises the
1572. Brille; a curate makes Flushing declare in his favor; in a word, the states of Holland and Zealand assemble at Dordrecht, and in concert with the city of Amsterdam they chuse him for their Stadtholder. He then derived the same dignity from the people, which before he had held of the king. They abolished the Romish religion, to the end that they might have nothing in common with the Spanish government.

These people were long reckoned to have no genius for war; yet all of a sudden they grew good soldiers. Never did men fight with greater brave-

ry,

ry, or so much fury on both sides. The Spaniards, at the siege of Harlem, having 1573. thrown the head of one of their prisoners into the town, the inhabitants flung the heads of eleven Spaniards into the enemy's camp, with this inscription, *ten beads in payment for the tenth penny, and the eleventh for interest.* The city having surrendered at discretion, the Spaniards hung up all the magistrates, all the protestant ministers, and upwards of fifteen hundred citizens: this was treating the Netherlands in the same manner as they behaved to the inhabitants of the new world. My pen is ready to drop out of my hand, when I consider with what cruelty mankind have acted towards one another.

The barbarity of the duke of Alva having answered no other purpose, than to deprive the king his master of two provinces, he is at length recalled. At his departure he is said to have boasted of having put eighteen thousand persons to death by the hands of the publick executioner. Nor did the horrors of war abate in the least under the new governor of the Netherlands, the grand *commander* * de Requesens. The prince of Orange's army 1574. is again defeated, his brothers are slain: yet his party is strengthened by the animosity of a people, who are naturally quiet in their disposition; but when once they have passed the limits of moderation, they knew not how to turn back.

The siege and defence of Leyden are 1574. one of the strongest proofs of the amazing effects of resolution and liberty. 1575. The Dutch did exactly the same thing then, as they ventured afterwards to do in 1672, when Lewis XIV.

* He was grand *commander* of Castile: this word signifies the governor of a body of knights of Malta, belonging to a particular province or kingdom, as here to Castile.

was at the gates of Amsterdam : they pierced the dykes ; the fields were overflowed with the waters of the Iffel, the Maese, and the Ocean ; while succours were wafted into the town on board a fleet of two hundred boats over the Spanish entrenchments. There happened another prodigy ; which is, that the Spaniards dared to continue the siege, and to undertake to drain off the inundation. There is no example in history of such a resource in a town besieged, nor of such obstinacy in besiegers ; an obstinacy however which turned to no account ; for Leyden still celebrates every year the day of her delivery. We must not forget to mention, that the inhabitants made use of pigeons at this siege, for conveying intelligence to the prince of Orange ; a practice very common in Asia.

Where was then this wise, this so much boasted policy of Philip II, when at this very juncture we see his troops mutinying in Flanders for want of pay, and plundering the city of Antwerp ; when the different provinces of the Netherlands, without consulting him or his governor, conclude a treaty of pacification with the revolted, publish 1576. an amnesty, set the prisoners at liberty, cause the fortresses to be demolished, and order the famous statue of the duke of Alva to be pulled down ; a trophy raised by his pride and cruelty, and which was still standing in the citadel of Antwerp ?

After the decease of the grand commander de Requesens, Philip might still have tried to restore the tranquillity of the Netherlands by his presence ; but instead of this he sends his brother don John of Austria, a prince famed through all Europe for the victory of Lepanto over the Turks, and for his ambition which set him upon attempting to be king of Tunis. Philip did not love don John ; he was
jealous

jealous of his glory, and mistrusted his designs. Yet he conferred the government of the Netherlands upon him against his will, in hopes that the people, pleased with a prince, who inherited the military virtues of his father Charles V, would return to their duty. He was mistaken. The prince of Orange was acknowledged as governor of 1577. Brabant in Brussels, when don John left that city, after having been installed as governor-general. And yet this honor paid to William the Silent, was the very thing that prevented Brabant and Flanders from recovering their liberty, like Holland. In those two provinces there were too many lords, jealous of the prince of Orange; and this jealousy preserved the ten provinces to Spain. They invited the archduke Matthias to be their governor-general, in opposition to don John. It is hard to conceive how an archduke of Austria, nearly related to Philip II, and a catholic, should put himself at the head of a party, almost all protestants, and against the chief branch of his family: but ambition knows no ties, and Philip was neither beloved by the emperor, nor by the empire.

Divisions arise on every side, and all falls into confusion. The states appoint the prince of Orange lieutenant-general to the archduke Matthias, which renders him of course a secret rival to that prince. Both are enemies to don John; and the states are jealous of all three. Another party equally dissatisfied with the states, and the three princes, divide the country. The states proclaim liberty of conscience; but there was no longer any possibility of remedying the phrenzy of faction. 1578. Don John, after gaining the battle of Gemblours, which answered no purpose, dies in the flower of life, and in the midst of these commotions.

To this son of Charles V. succeeds a grandson, of equal renown; I mean Alexander Farnese, duke

of Parma, descended from Charles by his mother, and from pope Paul III, by his father; the same who afterwards marched into France, to raise the siege of Paris, and to fight Henry the Great. History does not celebrate a greater captain: yet he could neither hinder the union of the seven provinces, nor the progress of that republic, whose foundation he himself had seen laid.

These seven provinces, now called by the general name of Holland, headed by the prince of Jan. Orange, establish that famous union, in appearance so slight, and in reality so solid, 29. of seven provinces independent of each other, 1579. actuated by different interests, and still as closely connected by the great tie of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic.

This union of Utrecht is the foundation of their commonwealth, as also of the stadtholdership. William is declared chief of the seven provinces by the name of captain, admiral-general, and stadtholder. The other ten, which, together with Holland, might have formed the most potent republic in the universe, would not join the seven. These defend themselves; but Brabant, Flanders, and the rest, would have a foreign prince to protect them. The states-general finding the archduke Matthias incapable of serving their cause, dismiss this son, this brother of emperors, who was emperor afterwards himself, and allow him a moderate pension. The next step they take is, to send for Francis duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III, king of France, with whom they had been long in treaty. All those provinces were divided into four parties; that of Matthias, so very weak that he was sent back; that of the duke of Anjou, which soon became fatal to them; that of the duke of Parma, who had only a few lords with an army on his side, but at length preserved

preserved ten provinces for the king of Spain; and that of William of Nassau, who stripped him of seven.

At this very juncture Philip, who never stirred from Madrid, proscribed the prince of 1580. Orange, and set his head at five and twenty thousand crowns. This method of commanding assassinations, unheard-of since the triumvirate, had been practised in France against the admiral de Coligni, William's father-in-law, for whose blood they had promised fifty thousand crowns. Philip bid only half the money for the head of the prince his son-in-law, though he was able to pay the most.

What a strange prejudice still prevailed at this time? The king of Spain, in his edict of proscription, acknowledges that he has violated his oath to the Flemings, and says, *that the pope had released him from that oath*. He must therefore have believed that this argument was likely to make a strong impression on the minds of the Catholics. But how greatly must it exasperate the Protestants, and confirm them in their defection?

William's answer is one of the finest pieces in history. He had been Philip's subject; and now he becomes his equal by being proscribed. In his apology we see a prince of an Imperial family, as ancient, and therefore as illustrious as the house of Austria; in short, a prince stadtholder, impeaching the most potent king in Europe at the bar of all mankind. He shews himself superior to Philip in this respect, that having it in his power to proscribe him in his turn, he abhors the base revenge, and rests his security on the point of his sword.

Philip was now more formidable than 1580. ever; for he had just made himself master of Portugal without stirring out of his cabinet; and he imagined he should reduce the United Provinces in the same manner. William, on the one hand, had reason to be afraid of assassins; and, on the other,

of a new master in the duke of Anjou, who was lately arrived in the Netherlands, and had been acknowledged by the people as duke of Brabant and earl of Flanders. But he got rid of the duke of Anjou as easily as of the archduke Mattnias. The duke would fain be absolute sovereign of a country that had chosen him for its protector. In all ages

there have been conspiracies against princes:
1583. here the prince conspired against the people.

He wanted to surprize Antwerp, Bruges, and other towns which he was come to defend. He surprized Antwerp, but was driven out again with the loss of fifteen hundred French. In his attempt upon the other towns he miscarried. Pressed on the one side by the duke of Parma, and on the other detested by the people, he retired into France, and left the duke of Parma and the prince of Orange to dispute the possession of the Netherlands, now grown the chief theatre of war in Europe, and the school where gallant men of all nations were trained up in the military art.

Philip got his revenge of the prince of Orange by the means of assassins. A Frenchman,
1583. whose name was Salcede, conspired his death. Jaurigni, a Spaniard, wounded him with a
1584. pistol-shot at Antwerp. At length Balthazar

Gerard, a native of Franche Comtè; killed him in the presence of his lady, who saw her second husband assassinated, after having been bereft of her first together with her father, the admiral, at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. This assassination of the prince of Orange was not committed with any view of gaining the reward of five and twenty thousand crowns promised by Philip, but through religious enthusiasm. The Jesuit Strada relates that Gerard constantly declared under the torture, *that he had been excited to this action by divine impulse.* He says also expressly, *that Jaurigni did not under-*
take

take to kill the prince of Orange till he had purified his soul by confession at the feet of a Dominican friar, and fortified himself with the heavenly bread. This was the crime of the times. The Anabaptists had shewn the way. During the siege of Munster a German woman, desirous of imitating the example of Judith, went out of the town with an intent to lie with the bishop who had laid siege to it, and to kill him in bed. Poltrot de Merè assassinated Francis duke of Guise from the same principle. The massacre of St. Bartholomew brought those horrid scenes to the highest pitch. The same spirit afterwards produced the assassination of Henry III and Henry IV, and the gunpowder conspiracy in England. Examples drawn from Scripture, first preached up by the reformers, and afterwards but too often enforced by the Roman Catholics, made impression on the weak minds, who fancied they heard the voice of God commanding murder. They were too blind, too frantic to comprehend, that though God commanded the effusion of human blood in the old Testament, yet this order could not be obeyed till the Divine Majesty himself came down from heaven, to dictate his decrees in regard to the lives of mankind, which are entirely at his disposal.

When William the Silent was assassinated, he was just upon the point of being declared earl of Holland. The conditions of this new dignity had been already agreed to by all the towns, except Amsterdam and Gouda. By this we find that he had laboured for himself as much as for the republic.

His son Maurice could not pretend to this principality: but the seven provinces declared him their stadtholder; and he finished the structure of liberty commenced by his father. He was worthy to enter the lists with Alexander Farnese. These heroes gained immortal reputation on this narrow stage where the scene of war attracted the attention of all

Europe. Were there nothing but the siege of Antwerp to recommend the duke of Parma's memory, he would still be ranked among the greatest captains of the age: the Antwerpians defended themselves as bravely as heretofore the Tyrians; and the duke took Antwerp in the same manner as the conqueror, whose name he bore, had taken the city of Tyre, by raising a dyke on the deep and rapid river of Scheld; an example followed by cardinal Richelieu at the siege of Rochelle.

The infant republic was obliged to implore the assistance of Elizabeth queen of England; who sent over four thousand men under the command of the earl of Leicester. This was enough at that time. Leicester for a little while acted as prince Maurice's superior, just as the duke of Anjou and the archduke Matthias had acted in regard to his father. He took the title and rank of governor-general, which was soon disapproved of by the queen. Maurice preserved his stadtholdership of the seven provinces; happy if his ambition had carried him no farther.

During this long war, chequered with such vicissitudes, neither Philip could recover the seven provinces, nor these take any of the ten from him. The republic was every day growing so formidable at sea, that she contributed greatly to destroy that fleet of Philip's, intitled the Invincible. For the space of forty years these people resembled the Lacedemonians, who constantly repulsed the great king. The same manners, simplicity, and equality, prevailed in Amsterdam as in Sparta; with greater sobriety. These provinces retained something of the innocence of the primitive times. There is not a Frislander, even of middling education, but has heard that the use of locks and keys was at that time unknown to his country. They had no more than was necessary for nature, which it was not worth

worth their while to lock up: they were not afraid of their countrymen; but they defended their flocks and their granaries against the enemy. In all those maritime provinces they lived in huts, which had nothing to recommend them but their simplicity and neatness. Never was there a people less acquainted with delicacy. When Louisa de Coligni was upon her journey to the Hague, in order to be married to prince William, they sent an open post-waggon to meet her, and she was seated on a board. But towards the latter end of prince Maurice's days, and in the life-time of Frederick-Henry, the Hague was grown a most agreeable residence, by the great concourse of princes, statesmen, and general officers. Amsterdam rose by trade alone to be one of the most flourishing cities in the world; while the fertility of the neighbouring pastures enriched the inhabitants of the open country.

C H A P. CXXXVI.

*The reign of Philip II, continued. Unhappy fate of
don Sebastian king of Portugal.*

ONE would imagine that the king of Spain must at that time have demolished the house of Nassau and the infant republic, with the weight of his power. He had indeed lost the sovereignty of Tunis in Africa, with the port of Goletta, where formerly stood the city of Carthage: but, on the other hand, a king of Morocco and Fez, whose Name was Muley Mehemed, and who contested the kingdom with his uncle, had offered to become tributary to Philip so early as the year 1577. Philip refused it; and to this refusal he owed the crown of Portugal. The African monarch went

over in person to pay his obeisance to don Sebastian king of Portugal, and to implore his assistance. This young prince, the descendant of the great Emanuel, was impatient to distinguish himself in that part of the world, where his ancestors had made such conquests. What is very singular, he received no assistance from Philip his maternal uncle, whose daughter he was going to marry; but he obtained a reinforcement of twelve hundred men from the prince of Orange, who was scarce able to maintain his ground in Flanders. This small circumstance of general history shews greatness of mind in the prince of Orange, but above all a determinate passion to stir up enemies against Philip in every part of the world.

Don Sebastian arrives, with a fleet of eight hundred sail, before the town of Arzilla in the kingdom of Fez, that had been conquered by his ancestors. He lands his army, which consisted of fifteen thousand foot; but he had not a thousand horse. It is probably this inconsiderable body of horse, so disproportioned to the formidable cavalry of the Moors, that has been the cause of his incurring the censure of temerity from all historians. But how highly would he have been applauded, had

he been crowned with success! He was
 Aug. 4, overcome by Malucco the old sovereign
 1578. of Morocco. In this battle were slain
 three kings, the two Moors, uncle and
 nephew, and don Sebastian. Not one man returned
 of the conquered army. This fatal day had a very
 extraordinary consequence. For the first time ap-
 peared a king, who was priest and cardinal: this
 was don Henry, aged seventy, son of the great Emanuel, and great uncle of Sebastian. His right to
 the crown of Portugal was indisputable.

Philip from that time made preparations to succeed him; and as extraordinary as it may sound,
 pope

pope Gregory XIII appeared in the list of competitors, pretending that the kingdom of Portugal belonged to the holy see in default of heirs in a direct line; because, said he, Alexander III. had created count Alphonso king, who acknowledged himself a vassal of Rome. Strange reason! This pope Gregory XIII, of the family of Boncompagno, had an idle notion of conferring a kingdom on his bastard Boncompagno, in whose favour he would not dismember the ecclesiastic state, as several of his predecessors had done. He flattered himself at first that his son should have the kingdom of Ireland, because Philip II. fomented disturbances in that island, just as Elizabeth stirred up the fire that had been kindled in the Netherlands. Ireland having been likewise a present from the pope, must revert to him or his children, as soon as the sovereign of that island was excommunicated. This notion did not take. The pope indeed obtained some ships from Philip; with a few Spaniards, who landed in Ireland with a small number of Italians under the papal flag: they were put to the sword, and the Irish of their party were hanged. Gregory XIII. turned his views towards Portugal; but he had to deal with Philip II, who had a better right than him, and was abler to maintain it.

The old cardinal reigned only long enough to see the great cause of the succession to his crown pleaded in his presence; and died soon after. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, and knight of Mal- 1580. ta, wanted to succeed the priestly king, whose uncle he was by the father's side; whereas Philip II. was his uncle only by the mother's. The prior was charged with illegitimacy, but he said he was born in wedlock. Neither the prior nor the pope inherited. The branch of Braganza, which seemed to have just pretensions, was then either so prudent, or so pusillanimous as not to assert them.

Philip's right was demonstrated by twenty thousand men; they scarcely required in those days greater armies. In vain does the prior, unable to make good his cause, apply for succours to the grand signor. To complete the whimsical scene nothing more was wanting, but to see the pope imploring the assistance of the Turk, in order to mount the throne of Portugal.

Philip never commanded his own armies: he conquered Portugal from his cabinet. The old duke of Alva, who had been these two years in exile after his long services, was now recalled to court, like a mastiff unchained for fighting: he finished his bloody career with gaining two victories over the little army of the prior of Crato, who was deserted by all the world, and for a long time wandered about the country.

Philip repaired to Lisbon for his coronation offering a reward of eighty thousand ducats to whoever would deliver up don Antonio. Proscriptions were then his favorite weapons.

The prior of Crato fled first to England, with a few companions of his distress, who, though
1581. destitute of every thing, and in the most wretched condition like himself, served him upon the knee. This custom, derived from the German emperors who succeeded the race of Charlemagne, was received in Spain after Alphonso X, king of Castile, had been elected emperor in the thirteenth century. The kings of England have followed this example, which seems to clash with the high spirit of that nation. Content with real power, the kings of France despise this pageantry. The kings of Poland have been served in this manner on days of ceremony, and yet this has not rendered them more absolute.

Elizabeth was not in a condition to wage war for the prior of Crato's sake: as she bore an implacable,

ble, though secret, aversion to Philip, her whole study was to thwart his measures, and incite enemies against him: but as she could not maintain herself upon the throne of England without the affection of her people, which she would have certainly forfeited had she demanded new subsidies, it was not then time for her to declare war.

Don Antonio applies to the crown of France. The ministers of Henry III. were upon the same terms of jealousy and apprehension with regard to Philip as the court of London. There was no open war between them, but an inveterate grudge, a mutual desire of annoying each other: and, in short, Henry III. was always embarrassed between the Hugonots, who formed an empire within the state; and Philip, who would fain erect another by offering his protection to the Catholic party.

Catharine de Medicis had pretensions to Portugal almost as chimerical as those of the pope. Don Antonio, by flattering those pretensions, and by promising part of a kingdom which it was not in his power to recover, or at least the Azores where he had a strong party, obtained through Catharine's credit no inconsiderable succours. They gave him sixty small ships, and about six thousand men, for the most part Hugonots, whom they were glad to have the opportunity of employing at a distance from home, and who were still better pleased to fight against the Spaniards. The French, especially the Calvinists, were every where in pursuit of military glory. At that time multitudes followed the duke of Anjou, to procure a settlement for him in Flanders. And now they joyfully set sail, to restore don Antonio to the crown of Portugal. Upon their first arrival they made themselves masters of one of the islands; but it was not long before they espied the Spanish fleet, which was superior in every respect to the French, in the size of ships, and in number

ber of men; for there were twelve galleys attending fifty galleons. This was the first time that galleys were seen on the ocean; and it was very extraordinary that they should have been brought the length of a thousand leagues, to those boisterous seas. When Lewis XIV. sent some galleys into the ocean, this was reckoned by mistake the first attempt of the kind; but it was more hazardous than that of Philip II, because the channel is more tempestuous than the Atlantic sea.

This was the first naval engagement ever fought in that part of the world. The Spaniards conquered, and abused their victory. The marquis de Santa Cruz, the Spanish admiral, ordered most of the prisoners to be hanged up, under pretence that, as there had been no declaration of war betwixt Spain and France, they ought to be treated as pirates. Don Antonio had the fortune to make his escape, and returned to France, where his servants continued the ceremony of the knee to him, and where he died in poverty.

Philip then saw himself in possession not only of Portugal, but of all the great settlements which this nation had made in the East-Indies. His dominions extended to the extremity of America and Asia, and yet he could not prevail against Holland.

The embassy from the four kings of Japan seemed to complete that grandeur, by which he
1584. figured as the chief monarch in Europe.

The Christian religion made great progress in Japan; and the Spaniards might flatter themselves with the hopes of establishing their empire as well as their religion in that country.

In Europe he had the pope, lord paramount of the kingdom of Naples, to manage; France to keep always divided, in which he was very successful by means of the league, and by his treasure; Holland to reduce; and, above all, England to disturb. All these

these springs he set in motion at the same time; and soon it appeared, by the equipment of his fleet called the Invincible, that his aim was rather to conquer than to create disturbance to England.

Queen Elizabeth had given him sufficient provocation. She openly maintained the cause of the confederates in the Netherlands. Besides, Sir Francis Drake, at that time a private adventurer, had plundered several of the Spanish possessions in America, passed the streights of Magellan, and returned to London in 1580, loaded with spoils, after having performed the voyage round the world. A stronger pretence than the foregoing was the captivity of Mary queen of Scots, whom she kept eighteen years confined, contrary to the law of nations. This princess had all the catholics on her side: she had moreover a most apparent right to the crown of England, derived from Henry VII. by a birth whose legitimacy was not contested like that of Elizabeth. Philip might also assert the vain title of king of England which he had formerly bore: in a word, the attempting to set the queen of Scots at liberty must needs make the pope and all the catholics of Europe his friends.

C H A P. CXXXVII.

Of the invasion intended against England. Of the invincible armada. Of the influence of Philip II. in France. Inquiry into the death of don Carlos, &c.

WITH this view Philip equips that prodigious fleet, which was to be supported by another armament in Flanders, and by a rising of the catholics in England. This was what ruined the queen of Scots, and, instead of procuring her liberty, brought her to the scaffold. 1587. Nothing remained but for Philip to avenge that princess's

cess's death by conquering the crown of England for himself, and then Holland would soon be subdued and punished.

June 3,
1588. All these preparations required the mines of Peru. The invincible armada sets sail from Lisbon, consisting of a hundred and fifty large ships, with twenty thousand soldiers, near three thousand cannon, and about seven thousand sailors. An army of thirty thousand men lay ready in Flanders, under the command of the duke of Parma, waiting only for the critical moment to set sail with the transports bound for England, and to join the troops on board the Spanish fleet. The English ships, being a great deal smaller than the Spanish, could never withstand the weight of those moving castles, some of which had their sides three feet thick, impenetrable to cannon. Yet the whole of this well-concerted expedition miscarried. This formidable fleet is soon stopt by a hundred English ships of lesser size, who take some of the Spanish men of war, and with eight fireships disperse the rest. A storm ensues in favour of the English. The invincible armada is in danger of being cast away on the coast of Zealand. The duke of Parma's army, not being able to put to sea without convoy, is of no sort of use. Philip's ships, buffeted by the English and by storms, sail round by the north seas; some are wrecked on the coast of Zealand, others dashed against the rocks of the Orcades, and on the coast of Scotland; others are cast away on the Irish shore. The country people murdered part of the crew that escaped the fury of the waves; and the lord deputy of Ireland had the barbarity to hang the rest. In short, no more than fifty ships returned to Spain; and out of about thirty thousand men that embarked on board the fleet, such havock had been made by storms, by
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the enemy, and by sickness, that not six thousand ever lived to see their native country.

Neither did the duke of Parma's fine army of thirty thousand men contribute more to reduce Holland, than the invincible armada to conquer England. Holland defending itself by its canals, by its dykes, by its causeys, and above all by the love of liberty ingrafted in a people, who were now trained to arms under the princes of Orange, was able to withstand a more powerful army.

None but Philip alone could render himself formidable after so great a disaster. America and Asia profusely supplied him with the means of striking terror into his neighbours; and though he missed his aim against England, he was very near succeeding in France.

At the same time that he was conquering Portugal, maintaining the war in Flanders, and invading England, he encouraged the *Holy League* in France, which tended to subvert the throne, and dismember the state: and by scattering the seeds of division in that very league which he defended, he was thrice very near being acknowledged sovereign of France under the title of Protector, with the power of conferring all offices and employments. The infantia Eugenia, his daughter, was to be queen under his direction, and to convey the crown of France as a portion to her husband. This proposal was made by the faction of sixteen, so early as the year 1589, after the assassination of Henry III. The duke of Mayenne, the head of the league, had no other way to elude the proposal than by saying, that as the confederacy had been formed with a religious view, *the title of protector of France could belong to none but the pope.* The Spanish ambassador carried this negotiation to a great length, before the holding of the states at Paris in 1593. There were long debates about the means of abolishing the Salic law; and

and at length the infanta was proposed as queen to the states.

Philip insensibly accustomed the French to depend on the crown of Spain; for, on one hand, he sent sufficient succours to the league, to hinder it from being overpowered, but not enough to render it independent; and, on the other, he was arming his son-in-law, Charles Emanuel of Savoy, against France. With this view he supplied him with troops, and helped to get him acknowledged protector by the parliament of Provence, to the end that the French grown tractable by this example, should recognize Philip as protector to the whole kingdom.

There was great likelihood that France would be forced into this measure. The Spanish ambassador was grown all powerful in Paris by his numerous presents. The Sorbonne, and all the religious orders, were of Philip's side. His aim was, not to conquer France as he had conquered Portugal, but to oblige the French to offer him their government.

With this view he orders Alexander Farnese to march from the Netherlands to the relief of Paris, at that time hard beset by the victorious forces of Henry IV: with this same view that general is recalled, after he had rescued the capital of the kingdom by his judicious march, without striking a blow. And when Henry IV.

laid siege soon after to Rouen, Philip appointed the same duke of Parma again to oblige him to raise the siege. It was very surprising, that while the king of Spain was so powerful as to determine the fate of war in France, prince Maurice and the Dutch should be able to oppose him, and even to send succours to Henry IV, they, who ten years before had been considered in Spain as worthless rebels, doomed to ignominious punishment. They sent three thousand men to the king

king of France; yet this did not hinder the duke of Parma from obliging Henry IV. to raise the siege of Rouen, as before he had obliged him to raise that of Paris.

Philip recalls the duke once more: thus alternately succouring and withdrawing his succours from the league; and thereby rendering himself ever necessary to that party, he lays his snares on all sides, on the frontiers, and in the heart of the kingdom, with an intent of absolutely obliging this unhappy country to submit to his dominion. His power was already established in great part of Britany, by the sword. His son-in-law, the duke of Savoy, had gained footing in Provence, and part of Dauphiné. The road was free for the Spanish armies from Arras to Paris, and from Fontarabia to the Loire. Philip was so firmly persuaded that France must fall into his hands, that conversing with the president Jeannin, who was envoy from the duke of Mayenne, he constantly made use of these words, *my city of Paris, my city of Orleans, my city of Rouen.*

The court of Rome, though jealous of his power, was obliged to second his views; so that the arms of religion were always employed in his service. This cost him nothing but the appearance of zeal for catholicism: this was likewise a pretence for the destruction of Geneva, which he had been contriving at the same time. So early as the year 1589 he sends an army under the command of his son-in-law Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, to reduce Geneva and the neighbouring country. But it was ever the fate of this rich and potent monarch to be baffled by poor people, raised in some measure above their natural sphere by the love of liberty. The inhabitants of Geneva assisted by the cantons of Bern and Zurich only, and with three hundred soldiers from Henry IV, maintained their ground against the treasures of the father-in-law, and the son-

son-in-law's arms. These same people preserved their town in 1602 from falling into the hands of this very duke of Savoy, who had surprized it by escalade in time of full peace, and was giving it up to be plundered. They had even the courage to punish this attempt of a sovereign prince upon thirteen of his officers, who were hanged up as night robbers, because they had not been victorious.

Philip, without stirring out of his cabinet, maintained continual war at one and the same time, in the Netherlands, against prince Maurice, in every province almost of France against Henry IV, at Geneva and in Swisserland, and by sea against the English and Dutch. What benefit did he reap from all those great enterprizes, which held Europe so long in suspense? Henry IV, by going to mass made him lose France in a quarter of an hour. The English, grown now as expert in naval engagements, and as good mariners as the Spaniards, for which he might blame himself, plundered his possessions in America. The earl of Essex burnt his galleons and the town of Cadiz. At length, after having ravaged France, after Amiens had been taken by surprize, and May 2, retaken by the bravery of Henry IV, Philip 1598. was obliged to conclude the treaty of Vervins, and to acknowledge him as king of France, whom he had hitherto called by no other name than the prince of Bearn. It is further remarkable in this peace, that he restored Calais, which the arch-duke Albert, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, had taken during the troubles of France, and that no mention was made of the pretended rights of Elizabeth: this princess neither recovered the town, nor the eight hundred thousand crowns due to her by the treaty of Chateau Cambresis.

The power of Philip was then like a great river, confined once more within its banks, after having over-

overflowed the distant meadows. Philip continued the most powerful prince in Europe. Elizabeth, and especially Henry IV, had more glory: but Philip, to the very last moment, preserved that superiority which he had derived from his immense wealth, and extensive dominions. The expending of three thousand millions of livres upon his despotic pursuits in the Netherlands, and his ambitious schemes in France, did not impoverish him. America and the East Indies proved inexhaustible sources. But his treasures happened to enrich the rest of Europe, contrary to his intention. His profuse intrigues in England, France, and Italy, and his expensive armaments in the Netherlands, having increased the wealth of those people, whom he wanted to subdue, the price of provisions rose almost double, and Europe was enriched by the very means with which he had designed to enslave it.

His annual revenue was about thirty millions of ducats, without being obliged to lay any new taxes upon the people: which was more than all the princes of Europe had together. This furnished him with means sufficient to purchase more kingdoms than one, but not to conquer them. The courage of queen Elizabeth, the bravery of Henry IV, and of the princes of Orange, triumphed over his treasures, and his intrigues. But except the sacking of Cadiz, Spain, during his reign, enjoyed tranquillity, and was always successful.

The Spaniards had a remarkable superiority over other nations; their language was spoken at Paris, Vienna, Milan, and Turin; their modes, their manner of thinking and writing gave them an ascendant over the Italians; and from the time of Charles V, till the beginning of the reign of Philip III, Spain had a greater respect shewn her than other nations.

While

While Philip was concluding a peace with France, he gave away the Netherlands and Franche Comté in portion to his daughter Clara Eugenia, whom he had not been able to make a queen; but he settled those provinces as a fief, to revert to the crown of Spain in failure of issue.

Sept. 13, Philip departed this life not long after,
1598. aged seventy-one, in that great palace of the Escorial, which he had made a vow to build, in case his generals gained the battle of St. Quintin; just as if it concerned the deity, whether the constable de Montmorenci, or Philibert of Savoy, were victorious, or the divine favour was to be purchased by buildings.

Posterity has ranked Philip II. among the most powerful, but not the greatest of kings. He was called the *devil of the south*, because from the center of Spain, which is the southern part of Europe, he gave disturbance to the dominions of every other prince.

After viewing him in a political light, if we come to consider him in a private capacity, we shall find him a rigid and suspicious master, a cruel lover, a barbarous husband, and an unnatural father.

An important event of his private life, which still exercises the curiosity of the public, is the death of his son don Carlos. No one can tell how this prince made his exit; his body is in the vaults of the Escorial, severed from his head. But the reason they pretend to give for this, is, because the leaden chest which holds the body, is too small. It has been mentioned in the life of the Czar Peter, that when he wanted to condemn his son, he sent to Spain for the original records of don Carlos's trial. But neither those records nor the trial of that prince are to be found. We are as much in the dark in regard to his crime as to his kind of death. It has been neither proved, nor is it probable, that Philip made the in-

quisition

quisition condemn his son. All that we know for certain is, that in 1568 Philip went himself in person to arrest don Carlos in his apartment, and that he wrote to the empress his sister, *that he had never discovered any capital crime, or notorious vice in his son, but that he had confined him for his own good, and for the welfare of his kingdom.* At the same time he wrote quite the contrary to pope Pius V, in his letter of the 20th of January 1568, wherein he tells him, *that don Carlos, even from his infancy, had so strong a propensity to vice, as to resist all paternal instruction.* Since those letters, in which Philip gives an account of the imprisonment of his son, we find none that clear him of his death, and this, together with the reports that were spread over Europe, gives room to believe that he was really guilty of the murder. His silence in the midst of the public reports justified those, who pretended that this tragical event had been owing to the mutual passion, between the young prince don Carlos and his step-mother Elizabeth of France. Nothing more likely. Elizabeth had been brought up at a gay voluptuous court. Philip II. was fond of intrigue; and gallantry seemed to be the essence of a Spaniard. Examples of infidelity were common. It was natural that don Carlos and Elizabeth, nearly of the same age, should love each other. These suspicions were confirmed by the sudden death of the queen soon after the murder of the prince. All Europe believed that Philip had sacrificed his wife and son to his jealousy; and they believed it so much the more, as this same spirit induced him some time after to destroy the famous Antonio Perez, his rival in regard to the princess of Eboli, by the hands of a public executioner. These are accusations brought against him by the prince of Orange, in the face of Europe. It is very surprising, that Philip never employed the venal pens of his kingdom to draw up an apology; and that the prince
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of Orange was never answered. The evidence does not amount to full conviction, but it creates a strong presumption, and as such ought not to be neglected by historians; the judgment of posterity being the only barrier against successful tyranny.

C H A P. CXXXVIII.

Of the English under Edward VI, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth.

THE English neither made such a brilliant figure at home, nor had such influence abroad, nor were possessed of such formidable power, as the Spaniards; but they began to acquire a new kind of grandeur by trade and navigation. They understood their real element, and this alone rendered them more happy than all the foreign possessions, and victories of their antient kings. Had those kings reigned in France, England would have been only a province to that kingdom. Those people, so difficult to form into a body, so easily conquered by Danish and Saxon pirates, and by a duke of Normandy, had been only the ignoble instruments of a fleeting grandeur during the reigns of their Edwards and their Henries; but under Elizabeth they were become a powerful nation, polished, industrious, laborious, and enterprizing. The navigation of the Spaniards had excited their emulation; this set them upon three successive voyages in search of a passage to Japan and China by the north. Drake and Cavendish performed the voyage round the world, and attacked the possessions of the Spaniards, which extended to both extremities of the globe. Companies traded on their own bottom, with considerable

considerable

siderable advantage, to the coast of Guinea. The celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh, unassisted by the government, laid and strengthened the foundation of the English colonies in North America in 1585. These expeditions soon formed the best marine in Europe: this appeared very plainly, when they fitted out a fleet of a hundred sail against the *invincible armada* of Philip II, and afterwards insulted the coast of Spain, where they destroyed its ships, and burnt Cadiz; and when at length, grown still more formidable in 1602, they beat the first fleet that Philip III. put to sea, and acquired a superiority on that element, which they have preserved ever since,

In the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign they applied themselves to manufactures. The Flemings, persecuted by Philip II, went over to London, and rendered that city populous, industrious, and wealthy. Blessed with the enjoyment of peace under Elizabeth, the English began even to cultivate the polite arts; a mark and consequence of plenty. The names of Spencer and Shakespear, who flourished at that time, have reached other nations. London was enlarged, and improved; in a word, half the isle of Great Britain served as a counterpoise to the Spanish grandeur. The English, by their industry, were the second people in Europe: and by their liberty, the first. So early as this reign there were trading companies erected for the east and north. They began to look upon agriculture as a point of the first importance, while the Spaniards neglected this real advantage for ideal wealth. The importation of treasure from the new world enriched the king of Spain: but in England commerce and manufactures brought wealth to private citizens. A merchant of London, Sir Thomas Gresham, was rich and generous enough to build, at his own expence, the Rðyal Exchange, and a college that bears his name. Several others founded hospitals
and

and schools. This was the noblest effect of liberty. At that time private people did what is now done by kings under a successful administration.

Queen Elizabeth's revenue hardly exceeded six hundred thousand pounds sterling; and the number of her subjects did not amount to much above four millions. Spain alone contained twice as many. Yet Elizabeth always defended herself with success; and had the glory at the same time of assisting Henry IV to conquer his kingdom, and the Dutch to establish their republic.

In order to be acquainted with the life and reign of Elizabeth, we must trace matters a little back to the times of Edward VI, and queen Mary.

Queen Elizabeth was born in 1533: she had been declared legitimate heir to the crown of England in her cradle, and soon after proclaimed a bastard, when her mother passed from the throne to the scaffold. Her father finished his career in 1547, and died, as he had lived, like a tyrant. He issued out orders for executions even on his death-bed, but still with the sanction of the law. He caused the duke of Norfolk and his son to be condemned to death, for no other pretext but that their plate was marked with the arms of England. The father indeed obtained his pardon, but the son was executed. It must be confessed, that if the English are supposed to set but little value upon life, their government has treated them according to their own taste. The reign of the young king Edward VI, son of Henry VIII, and of Jane Seymour, was not exempt from these cruel tragedies. His uncle, Thomas Seymour, high-admiral of England, was beheaded for quarrelling with Edward Seymour his brother, duke of Somerset, and protector of the kingdom; and soon after the duke of Somerset himself ended his days in the same manner. This reign of Edward VI, which lasted but five years, was one
continued

continued series of sedition and disturbances, during which time the nation were, or seemed to be, protestants. He left the crown neither to Mary nor to Elizabeth his sisters, but to Jane Grey, descended from Henry VIII, grand-daughter of the widow of Lewis XII, and of Charles Brandon, a private gentleman, created afterwards duke of Suffolk. This Jane Grey was wife of lord Guilford Dudley, son of the duke of Northumberland, who had been all powerful under Edward VI. The will of Edward VI, in conveying the throne to Jane Grey, did but prepare her for the scaffold: she was proclaimed in London; but the party and right 1553. of Mary, daughter of Henry VIII, and Catharine of Arragon, prevailed. The first thing this queen did, after signing her marriage-act with Philip, was to condemn her rival to be beheaded, a princess of seventeen years of age, 1554. in full bloom and innocence, and guilty of no other crime than of being nominated in Edward the VI's will. In vain did she divest herself of this fatal dignity, after possessing it but nine days: she was led to the scaffold, as were also her husband, her father, and her father-in-law. This was the third queen of England, in less than twenty years, that laid her head on the block. The protestant religion, in which she had been bred, was the chief cause of her death. This revolution employed the public executioner more than the soldiery. Those cruelties were all exercised by act of parliament. In every country there have been times of bloodshed and confusion; but in England a greater number of persons of high rank have perished on the scaffold than in all the rest of Europe together. It was the characteristick of this nation ever to commit murders with the law on their side. The gates of London, like the Mexican temples, have been infected with the number of human skulls suspended as trophies.

C H A P. CXXXIX.

Of queen Elizabeth.

ELizabeth had been imprisoned by her sister at the commencement of her reign. This princess, who refused Philip II, when she mounted the throne, wanted to marry Courtney, earl of Devonshire; and by her letters, which are still extant, it appears that she had a great kindness for that lord. Such a match would have been nothing extraordinary; we find that lady Jane Grey, though designed for the throne, was married to lord Guilford Dudley. Mary, queen dowager of France, stepped from the bed of Lewis XII to the arms of Charles Brandon. The whole royal family of England sprung from a private gentleman of the name of Tudor, who had married the widow of Henry V, daughter of Charles VI, king of France; and before the Gallic kings were arrived to their present degree of power, the widow of Lewis the Fat made no difficulty to marry Matthew de Montmorenci.

Elizabeth, during her confinement, and the state of persecution under her sister Mary, made the best use of her misfortunes, by improving herself in the languages, and in various branches of literature. But of all the arts in which she excelled, that of carrying herself well with her sister, with catholics as well as protestants, of dissembling and learning to reign, was her proper characteristic.

Scarce had she been proclaimed queen, 1559. when Philip II, her brother-in-law, wanted to marry her. Had she consented to his request, France and Holland would have been greatly in danger: but she hated Philip's religion, disliked his person, and was desirous to enjoy, at the same time, the pleasure of being beloved, and the happiness of inde-

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independence. Having been imprisoned by a catholic queen, her sister, she thought as soon as she was upon the throne, of converting her subjects to the protestant religion. However, she would be crowned by a catholic bishop, lest the people should be shocked in the beginning. It is 1559. observable that she went from Westminster to the Tower of London in a chariot, followed by a hundred more. Not that coaches or chariots were then in use; it was only an occasional parade.

Immediately she called a parliament, which settled the church of England on its present foundation, and bestowed the supremacy, the tenths, and first fruits, on the sovereign.

Elizabeth had therefore the title of head of the English church. A great many writers, but especially the Italians, have judged this dignity ridiculous in a woman: but they might have considered that this woman was a sovereign; that she had the rights annexed to the throne by the laws of the country; that heretofore the rulers of all nations had the superintendence of religious affairs; that the Roman emperors were sovereign pontiffs; that though the church, in a great many countries, at present governs the state, yet there are places where the state governs the church; in short, that a queen of England who nominates, and prescribes laws to an archbishop of Canterbury, is not more ridiculous, than an abbess of Fontevrault, who names priors and curates, and gives them her benediction; in a word, that every country has its peculiar customs.

The church of England hath preserved the grandeur of the Romish ceremonies, with the austerity of the Lutheran religion. It is very extraordinary, that out of nine thousand four hundred incumbents at that time in England, there were no more than fourteen bishops, fifty canons, and

fourſcore rectors, that refuſed to ſign the reformation, and adhering to the old perſuaſion, were ſtripped of their livings. When we come to think that the Engliſh changed their religion four times ſince the reign of Henry VIII, we are amazed that ſo free a people could be ſo pliant; or that a nation ſo reſolute, ſhould be ſo inconstant. In this reſpect they reſembled the Swiſs cantons, who waited for the deciſion of their articles of faith from their magiſtrates. An act of parliament is every thing with the Engliſh; they are fond of their conſtitution; nor can they be guided, but by the reſolutions of a free parliament, or that ſeems to be ſuch.

No one was perſecuted for profeſſing the catholic religion; but thoſe who attempted to diſturb the ſtate through conſcientious motives, were ſeverely puniſhed. The Guiſes, who, at that time, availed themſelves of the pretext of religion to eſtabliſh their power in France, did not fail to employ the ſame arms, in order to place their niece Mary, queen of Scots, on the throne of England. Poſſeſſed of the revenue and power of France, they ſent money and troops into Scotland, under a pretence of aſſiſting the Scotch catholics againſt their proteſtant countrymen. The queen of Scots, wife of Francis II, king of France, took the title of queen of England, as the descendant of Henry VII.

All the catholics of England, Scotland, and Ireland, were for her. Elizabeth was not yet ſettled; religious intrigues might ſubvert the throne. She diſperſes this firſt ſtorm by ſending an army 1560. to the aſſiſtance of the Scotch proteſtants, and compels the regent of that kingdom, mother of Mary Stuart, to ſubmit to a treaty, by which ſhe engages to ſend back the French troops in twenty days.

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Upon the death of Francis II, Elizabeth obliges Mary Stuart, his widow, to relinquish the title of queen of England. Her intrigues encourage the parliament of Scotland to establish the reformation; by which step she makes a nation, of whom she had every thing to fear, her friends and allies.

No sooner is she freed from these inquietudes, than Philip II gives her much greater uneasiness. This prince continued in her interest so long as Mary Stuart had any hopes of uniting the crowns of France, England, and Scotland. But Francis II being dead, and his widow being returned to Scotland without any foreign support, Philip, who had none but the protestants to fear, proved an implacable enemy to Elizabeth.

This prince fomented a rebellion in Ireland against the queen; but she subdues the Irish. He supports in France the catholic league so fatal to the royal family; and she protects the opposite party. The Dutch are hard pushed by the Spanish armies; and she prevents their being crushed. In former times the kings of England depopulated their dominions to possess themselves of the crown of France: but so greatly are times and interests changed, that she sends frequent succours to Henry IV, to assist him to conquer his paternal inheritance. With this assistance Henry at length laid siege to Paris; and had it not been for the duke of Parma, or his own indulgence to the besieged, he would have placed the protestant religion on the throne. This is what Elizabeth had greatly at heart. It is natural for mankind to wish for success to their endeavours, and to enjoy the fruit of their labour. The queen's aversion to the catholic religion was increased, since she had been excommunicated by pope Pius V, and Sixtus Quintus, who had both declared her unworthy to reign; and the more

Philip II valued himself as protector of this religion, the more Elizabeth became its inveterate enemy. No protestant divine could be more concerned than this princess upon hearing of the abjuration of Henry IV. Her letter to that king is very remarkable; *The promise you make of a sacred and friendly alliance, I conceive myself to have deserved, and even earned at a vast expence: but I had not mattered that, had you still kept yourself the son of the same father. From henceforth I cannot look on myself as your sister, in respect to our common father; for I must and shall always pay a much greater regard to nature than choice in that relation* *. These few lines shew, at the same time, her disposition of mind, her good sense, and strength of expression.

Notwithstanding her hatred to the Romish religion, it is certain, that she was never sanguinary towards her catholic subjects, as her sister Mary had been towards the protestants. True it is, 1581. that the Jesuits Creighton and Campian † were hanged at the very time that the duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III, was making preparations at London for his marriage with the queen, which did not however take place. But those Jesuits were condemned for treasonable practices alleged against them; and verdict was passed by a jury upon the deposition of witnesses. It is possible that those victims were innocent; but the queen was

* This is only an extract of the letter, which I have given from the original.

† This is a mistake. Camden says, that Campian was executed with three other priests, whose names were Sherwin, Kirby, and Bryan: This was in 1581. Creighton was a Scotch Jesuit, who made a voyage to his own country in 1584, and by a very extraordinary accident his papers were delivered to Sir William Wade, and found to contain the particulars of a plot against the queen.

was surely guiltless of their death, since they were tried according to law.

In France a great many imagine, that queen Elizabeth put the earl of Essex to death merely through a fit of jealousy; and what makes them think thus, is their having read so in a play or a romance. But even the least smatterer in history must know, that the queen was then in her sixty-eighth year; that the earl of Essex had headed an open insurrection, encouraged by the queen's advanced age, and the hopes of profiting by her decline of power; in a word, that he and his accomplices were condemned by their peers.

Justice was more impartially administered under Elizabeth than under any of her predecessors. This proved one of the chief supports of her government. Her revenue was constantly employed in the defence of the state.

She had her favourites, but she enriched none of them at the expence of her country. Her people indeed were her chief favourites; not that she really loved them; for who is it that loves the common people? but she was sensible that her security and glory depended on behaving in such a manner as if she really loved them.

Elizabeth would have enjoyed this glory without blemish, had she not sullied so glorious a reign with the murder of Mary Stuart, whom she dared to put to death by the hands of a public executioner.

C H A P. CXL.

Of Mary queen of Scots.

IT is difficult to come at the truth, even in quarrels between private people: how much more so in a contest betwixt crowned heads, when so many secret springs are employed, when both sides have recourse

recourse to truth and falshood? Cotemporary writers are then suspected as advocates for one side of the question, rather than the depositaries of history. I must therefore confine myself to undoubted facts in the intricate mazes of this grand, this fatal event.

Between Mary and Elizabeth there was every kind of rivalry; of nation, crown, religion, wit, and beauty. Mary, less powerful, less absolute, less steady, and less politic, had no other superiority over Elizabeth than that of her charms, which even contributed to her ruin. The queen of Scots encouraged the catholic faction in England; while Elizabeth was more successful in animating the protestant faction in Scotland. She even carried the superiority of her intrigues to that degree, as to hinder the queen of Scots a long while from marrying again to her own liking.

Yet Mary, in spite of her rival's intrigues, in spite of the Scottish parliament composed of protestants, and in spite of the earl of Murray, her natural brother, who was at their head, 1565. marries Henry Stuart, lord Darnly, her cousin, and a catholic like herself. Elizabeth tampers privately with the protestant lords in Scotland to take up arms; but Mary attacks them, and obliges them to fly to England. Hitherto every thing proved favourable to the queen of Scots, and her rival was confounded.

The softness of Mary's heart was the source of all her misfortunes. An Italian musician, named David Rizzio, had got too far into her good graces. He played extremely well on several instruments, and sang an agreeable bass. This by the way is a proof that the Italians had already a superior taste for music, and practised their art in the several courts of Europe; for the queen's whole band of musicians were Italians. A stronger proof that foreign courts employ every agent that has credit to serve them,

them, is David Rizzio's having been pensionary to the pope, This man contributed greatly to the queen's marriage, and afterwards put her out of conceit with her husband. Darnly, finding himself to be only a nominal king, despised by his wife, exasperated, and jealous, goes up by the back stairs, attended by armed men, and enters the queen's apartment, where she was at supper with Rizzio and one of her favourite women. They overturn the table, and kill Rizzio in the queen's presence, who in vain endeavours to screen him. At that time she was five months gone with child; and the sight of naked swords, stained with blood, made an impression on her, which was communicated to the fruit of her womb. Her son James VI, king of England and Scotland, who was born four months after this event, trembled all his life at the sight of a naked sword, in spite of every endeavour to surmount this disposition of his organs: such is the force of nature, and so powerfully does it act by secret ways.

The queen soon recovered her authority, and was reconciled to the earl of Murray; she prosecuted the murderers of the musician, and entered into an engagement with the earl of Bothwell. These new amours were productive of the murder of the king her husband. It is pretended that he was poisoned at first, and that the strength of his constitution overcame the venom: this however 1567. is certain, that he was murdered at Edinburgh, in a lonesome house, from whence the queen had withdrawn all her most valuable furniture. As soon as the deed was perpetrated, they blew up the house with gunpowder, and his body was interred near that of Rizzio, in the vaults of the royal family. The nation with one voice accused Bothwell of the murder; yet, at the very time that they were calling out for vengeance, Mary contrives to be carried off by this assassin, whose hands were still reeking

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reeking with her husband's blood; and publicly marries him. What is very extraordinary in this horrid affair, Bothwell had then a wife living: to get rid of her, he obliged her to charge him with adultery, so that a divorce was pronounced by the archbishop of St. Andrews, pursuant to the usage of the country.

Bothwell had all the effrontery of thorough-paced villains. He summoned the principal nobility, and made them sign a paper, in which it was expressly said, that the queen could not but marry him, since he had committed a rape upon her person*. All these facts are well attested: indeed Mary's letters to Bothwell have been disputed; but they have such pregnant marks of genuineness, that it is difficult not to acquiesce. These horrid proceedings cause a revolt in Scotland. Mary, abandoned by her army, is obliged to yield to the confederates. Bothwell flies to the Orkneys, while the queen is compelled to resign the crown to her son, but permitted to appoint a regent. She nominates her brother, the earl of Murray who treats her with great indignity. The queen, injured and abused, makes her escape from prison; while Murray's haughty and morose temper raises a party in her favour. She collects an army of six thousand men, but is defeated, and retires to the frontiers of England. Elizabeth at first ordered her to be honourably entertained at Carlisle; but gave her to understand, that as she was accused by the public of the murder of the king her husband,

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* Voltaire has been charged with a mistake here, by some who pretend that the paper or remonstrance was signed before the committing of the rape. But I suppose he had it from Rapin, who quotes Spotswood and Melvil in the margin. See Rapin, vol. II. p. 77. 2d edition,

it was incumbent upon her to justify herself; and if innocent, she should be protected.

Elizabeth made herself umpire betwixt Mary and the regency of Scotland. The regent himself went to Hampton court, and conde- 1569. scended to put the proofs against his sister into the hands of English commissioners. On the other hand, this unfortunate princess, being detained in Carlisle, charged Murray himself with the murder of her husband; but objected against English commissioners, unless they were joined by the French and Spanish ambassadors. In the mean time Elizabeth, pleased to see the reputation of her rival blasted, ordered them to go on with the process without bringing it to an issue. She had no right to try the queen of Scots, but ought to have sheltered that princess; yet she ordered her to be removed to Tutbury, where she was close confined.

These misfortunes of the royal family of Scotland were revenged upon a nation divided into factions, the consequence of anarchy. Murray was murdered by a party who made use of Mary's name. The assassins entered England with an armed force, and ravaged the frontiers.

Elizabeth quickly sent an army to punish those banditti, and to keep the Scotch in 1570. awe. She procured the earl of Lenox, brother to the murdered king, to be elected regent. So far she behaved with justice and grandeur. All this while they were plotting in England to deliver Mary from her imprisonment. Pope Pius V was so indiscreet as to cause a bull to be fixed up in London, by which he excommunicated Elizabeth, and released her subjects from the oath of allegiance. The friends of Mary meant to assist her, while they were hastening her ruin. The two queens negotiated with one another; one from the throne, and the other from a prison. Mary does not seem to have acted

acted with a compliance suitable to her distress. In the mean time Scotland was deluged with blood. The catholics and protestants were at war with each other. The French ambassador and the archbishop of St. Andrews were taken prisoners: the
 1571. archbishop was hanged upon the evidence of his own confessor, who swore that the prelate had accused himself of having been an accomplice in the murder of the king.

It proved fatal to the queen of Scots to have friends in her disgrace. The duke of Norfolk, depending upon a revolution, and upon Mary's right of succession, wanted to marry her. In London parties were formed in her favour: it is true those parties were weak; yet they might be strengthened by the armies of Spain and the intrigues of Rome.
 1572. This affair cost the duke of Norfolk his head: he was condemned by his peers for asking succours of the pope, and of the king of Spain, in favour of queen Mary. The duke of Norfolk's blood did but rivet the chains of this unfortunate princess. Her long confinement did not discourage her adherents in London, animated by the princes of Guise, by the holy see, by the jesuits, and especially by the Spaniards.

The grand scheme was to set Mary at liberty, and to place her and the catholic religion on the
 1586. throne of England. Conspiracies were forming against Elizabeth; and Philip was preparing his invincible armada. The queen of England caused fourteen of the conspirators to be put to death, and ordered Mary to be brought to her trial as if she had been a subject. A commission was issued to forty-two members of parliament *, with five judges, to try her at Fotheringay castle: she

* Most of the commissioners were peers of the realm, or great officers of state.

she protested against their jurisdiction, but answered their accusations. Never was there a more incompetent court, nor more irregular proceeding. They produced only copies of letters, but no originals. They made use of the depositions of her secretaries, without confronting them. They pretended to convict her upon the evidence of three conspirators, who had been put to death, though the sentence might have been respited, had they thought proper to examine them in Mary's presence. In a word, even had they proceeded with all the forms which justice requires for the lowest of mankind, had they proved that Mary applied every where for aid and revenge, still she could not be condemned as a criminal. Elizabeth had no other jurisdiction over her than that of the strong over the weak and the unfortunate.

At length, after eighteen years imprisonment in a country which she had imprudently chose for an asylum, Mary was beheaded in an Feb. 28, apartment of the prison hung with black. 1587. Elizabeth was sensible she had done a very bad act; but she rendered herself still more odious, by attempting to impose upon the public, by affecting to lament for a person whom she had put to death, by pretending that her ministers had exceeded her orders, and by imprisoning the secretary of state, who, she said, had been too precipitate in executing a warrant of her own signing. Europe was shocked at her cruelty and dissimulation. Her reign was esteemed, but her character detested. But what renders her less excusable is, her not having been forced to this barbarity: it might even be said, that Mary's person was a security against the attempts of her adherents.

Though this action be an eternal stain upon the memory of Elizabeth, it is a fanatical weakness to canonize Mary Stuart as a martyr of religion. If she

she was a martyr, it was of adultery, of the murder of her husband, and of her own imprudence. Her failings and misfortunes greatly resembled those of Joan of Naples; they were both handsome and sprightly, both, through the frailty of their sex, guilty of an atrocious deed, and both put to death by their relations. History often brings us back to the same misfortunes, to the same flagitious deeds, and to one crime punished by another.

C H A P. CXLI.

*Of France towards the end of the sixteenth century,
under Francis II.*

WHILE the overgrown power of Spain seemed to alarm all Europe, and England made the second figure in this part of the world by opposing that monarchy, France was upon the decline, divided into factions, and in danger of being dismembered; in short, it was far from having any influence or credit in Europe. By the civil wars this kingdom became dependent on all its neighbours. Those times of fury, baseness, and misery, have furnished more matter for history than is contained in the Roman annals. What were the causes of all those misfortunes? Religion, ambition, the want of good laws, and mal-administration.

Henry II. by his severity against the sectaries, and especially by the condemnation of the counsellor of parliament, Anne du Bourg, who was executed after the king's death by order of the Guises, made more Calvinists in France than there were in Switzerland and Geneva. Had they appeared under Lewis XII, when France was at war with the court of Rome, they might have been encouraged: but they

they started up exactly when Henry II. stood in need of Pope Paul IV. to dispute Naples and Sicily with the Spaniards, and when both these powers were united with the Turks against the house of Austria. It was therefore judged proper to sacrifice those people. The clergy, powerful at court, and jealous of their temporal estates, as well as of their authority, raised the persecution against the protestants; so that policy, interest, and religious zeal, helped to destroy them. They might have been tolerated, as Elizabeth granted toleration to the English catholics; and they might have continued good subjects, had they been allowed but liberty of conscience. Little would it have signified to the state whether they sung psalms their own way, provided they had been obedient to the laws of their country: but they were persecuted; and despair made them rebels.

The fatal death of Henry II. was the æra 1559. of civil broils that lasted thirty years. The minority of a king in the hands of foreigners, and the jealousy which the princes of the blood, and the great officers of the crown entertained of the power of the Guises, paved the way for the ruin of France.

The famous conspiracy of Amboise is the first we know of in this country. Rash- March
ness and infidelity in their engagements, 1560.
levity in their motions; in a word, precipitancy and repentance, seemed hitherto to have constituted the characteristic of the Gauls, who in changing their name for that of Franks, and afterwards of Frenchmen, did not change their manners. But this conspiracy was carried on with an audacity like that of Catiline, with deep policy, and with a secrecy equal to the *Sicilian vespers* *, or the conspiracy

* See vol. II. chap. xlix.

spiracy of the Pazzi at Florence †. Prince Lewis of Condé was the soul of the whole enterprize, which he conducted with such dexterity, that, though all France knew him to be at the head of it, nobody could convict him.

One particularity there was in this plot, that it seemed excusable, inasmuch as the design was to wrest the government out of the hands of Francis duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, both foreigners, who kept the king in tutelage, the nation in slavery, the princes of the blood, and the great officers, at a distance from the throne: but it was extremely criminal, inasmuch as it attacked the privileges of a king, who, being past his minority, was entitled by the laws to chuse the depositaries of his authority. It was never proved, that the conspirators intended to kill the Guises; but, as the latter were likely to resist, their death would have been inevitable. Five hundred gentlemen, all well attended, and a thousand resolute soldiers, headed by thirty chosen officers, were to rendezvous, upon a day appointed, from the different provinces of the kingdom, at the town of Amboise, where the court resided. At that time the kings had not so strong a body guard as at present. The regiment of guards was not established till the reign of Charles IX. The whole retinue of Francis II. was two hundred archers; and none of the princes of Europe had more. The constable de Montmorenci, at his return to Orleans, where the Guises had placed another guard upon the death of Francis II. drove those soldiers away, threatening to hang them up as enemies,

† This happened in 1478. Francis Pazzi, one of the chief conspirators against the family of Medicis, killed Julian de Medicis, and was afterwards hanged by the people of Florence, together with the rest of his accomplices. See Machiavel's hist. Florent. lib. viii.

enemies, for making a barrier between the king and his people.

The ancient simplicity of manners still reigned in the palaces of our kings; but they were less secure against any desperate enterprize. It was an easy matter to seize on the royal family, on the ministers, and even on the king's own person. The plot seemed to bid fair for success; and the conspirators had observed the strictest secrecy very near six months. But at length it was discovered by the indiscretion of the principal leader, named *la Renaudie*, who unbosomed himself to an advocate at Paris. It was attempted notwithstanding; and the conspirators all met at the appointed rendezvous, led by obstinate despair, the fruit of religious fanaticism. Most of those gentlemen were Calvinists, who made it their duty to avenge the cause of their persecuted brethren. Prince Lewis of Condé had openly embraced this sect, because the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine were catholics. A revolution in church and state was to be the fruit of the undertaking.

Scarce had the Guises time to collect any 1560.
forces: there were not fifteen thousand regular troops in the whole kingdom; but they soon assembled a body sufficient to crush the conspirators. As the latter came in separate parties, they were easily defeated. *La Renaudie* was slain fighting; and, like him, several others died sword in hand. Those who were taken, fell by the hands of the executioner; so that for the space of a whole month Amboise afforded no other spectacle than scaffolds imbrued in blood, and gibbets loaded with dead bodies.

The discovery and punishment of the conspirators, only contributed to strengthen the authority of those whom they had attempted to destroy. Francis de Guise had the power of the ancient mayors of the palace, under the new title of lieutenant-general of
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the kingdom. But this very power of Francis de Guise, and the restless ambition of the cardinal his brother, who would fain introduce the inquisition into France, set the whole nation against them, and produced fresh disturbances.

The Calvinists, still animated underhand by prince Lewis of Condé, took up arms in several provinces. The Guises must have been very formidable, since neither Condé, nor his brother Antony king of Navarre, father of Henry IV, nor the famous admiral de Coligni, nor his brother d'Andelot, colonel-general of infantry, durst declare themselves openly. The prince of Condé was the first party-leader that seemed to act with fear in a civil war. He would fain strike a blow, and immediately draw back his hand. Solicitous to carry himself well with the Guises whom he wanted to destroy, he had the imprudence to appear at Fontainebleau as a courtier, when he ought to have been at the head of his party as a captain. He was seized at Orleans, by order of the court. He is brought to his trial before the privy-council, and commissioners from the parliament, notwithstanding the privileges of the princes of the blood, who are not to be tried but by the court of peers. But what avails privilege against force? And what privilege can that be called, which is known only by the violation of it at the arraignment of the duke d'Alençon *?

The prince of Condé was condemned to be beheaded. The celebrated chancellor de l'Hopital, that great legislator at a time 1560. when laws were wanting, that resolute

philosopher

* René duke d'Alençon was accused of having entered into a conspiracy with the duke of Britany against Lewis XI; he was tried and condemned to death in 1474, but the sentence was afterwards changed into perpetual imprisonment.

philosopher at a period of madness and enthusiasm, refused to sign the sentence. The count de Sancerre, member of the privy council, followed this magnanimous example. Nevertheless they were upon the point of executing the sentence, and the prince of Condé was nigh ending his days by the hands of an executioner, when the young king Francis II, who had been a long time ill, and from his infancy infirm, died at the age of seventeen, leaving to his brother Charles, Dec. 5, 1560. who was then only in his tenth year, a kingdom exhausted and rent by factions.

The death of Francis II. preserved the life of the prince of Condé, who was soon set at liberty, after the Guises and he had been seemingly reconciled, while inwardly they vowed, nor could it well be otherwise, perpetual hatred and revenge. The states were assembled at Orleans; for under those circumstances nothing could be done without them. They grant the guardianship of Charles IX, and the administration of the realm, but not the title of regent, to Catharine de Medicis. They did not so much as give her the title of Majesty; it was new even in regard to kings. There are still a great many letters of the sire de Bourdeilles, wherein Henry III. is stiled *your highness*.

C H A P. CXLII.

Of France, under Charles IX, and Henry III.

UNDER all minorities of sovereigns the ancient constitution generally recovers some part of its vigour, at least for a little while, like a family that meet to adjust their affairs after the death

death of their father. The states-general were held at Orleans, and afterwards at Blois *; 1560. states ever memorable by the separation they made between the sword and the long robe. This distinction was not known in the Roman empire till the reign of Constantine. Magistrates understood how to fight; and soldiers to administer justice. Hence the sword and the gown were united in the same persons all over Europe, till towards the fourteenth century. By degrees these professions were separated in France and Spain; but not absolutely in France, though the parliaments were now composed only of gentlemen of the long robe. There was still some jurisdiction left to the nobility, such as we find in several German provinces, or on the frontiers of Germany. The states of Orleans being convinced that the nobility could hardly confine themselves to study the laws, deprived them of the administration of justice, and settled it intirely on their deputies of the long robe; so that they who, by their institution, had been always judges, ceased to have that jurisdiction.

The celebrated chancellor de l'Hopital had the principal share in this revolution. It was made at a time when the kingdom was weakest, and it has since contributed to the strength of the sovereign, by dividing two professions, which in conjunction might have balanced the power of the ministry. It has been since thought that the nobility were not able to preserve the deposit of the laws. They who were of this opinion did not reflect, that in England the upper house, consisting properly of the nobility of the kingdom, is a court of judicature that enacts laws and administers justice. When we observe such revolutions in the constitution of a country,

* Henault says, they were adjourned to Pontoise, and not to Blois.

country, and find that our neighbours have not undergone the like changes under the same circumstances, it is evident that their genius and manners must differ greatly from ours.

Those states-general laid open the defects of the public administration. The king was forty millions of livres in debt: he wanted money; and there was hardly any to be had. This was the real cause of the ruin of France. If Catharine de Medicis could have raised money to bribe servants, and to pay an army, the different factions that disturbed the state, would have been over-awed by the royal authority. The queen mother found herself between the catholics, and the protestants, the Condés and the Guises. The constable de Montmorenci had a separate faction. The court, Paris, and all the provinces, were at variance. Catharine de Medicis, instead of governing was obliged to negotiate. Her maxim of dividing for the sake of empire, increased the trouble and calamities of the state. She began with appointing the conference of Poissy betwixt the catholics and protestants: this was exposing the ancient religion to great risk, and giving a vast credit to the Calvinists, by allowing them to dispute with those who looked upon themselves as their judges.

At the time when Theodore Beza, and ^{1561.} other ministers, were on their way to Poissy, in order to defend their religion in the presence of the queen, and of a court at which Marot's psalms were publicly chanted, the cardinal of Ferrara, legate of pope Paul IV, arrived in France. But as he was grandson of Alexander VI. by his mother, the French expressed more contempt for his birth, than respect for his function and merit; the very livery-servants insulted his cross-bearer. Prints of his grandfather were exposed to public view, with the history of his scandalous debauches. The legate brought

brought along with him Lainez the general of the jesuits, who did not know a word of French, but disputed at the conference of Poissi in Italian. Catharine de Medicis had rendered this language familiar at court, and at that time it had made a great alteration in the French tongue. This jesuit had the assurance to tell the queen at the conference, that it was not her business to convoke such an assembly, and that she usurped the pope's authority. Yet he disputed at this assembly, notwithstanding that he railed so much against it. In speaking of the eucharist, he said, *that God was in the place of bread and wine, like a king who is his own ambassador.* By this puerility he excited laughter; and by his presumptuous treatment of the queen, indignation. Great mischief sometimes arises from trifles, and in the present disposition of minds every thing administered to the cause of the new religion.

The issue of the conference, and of the subsequent intrigues, was an edict of pacification, whereby the protestants were permitted the exercise of their religion without the walls of towns; but this edict was also productive of a civil war. Francis duke of Guise, who was only lieutenant-general, would fain be master of the kingdom. He had already entered into connections with Philip, and the common people looked upon him as the protector of the catholic religion. The principal nobility of those days never stirred abroad without a great retinue: their manner of travelling was not as at present, in a post-chaise, preceded by two or three servants; they were attended by above a hundred horsemen. This indeed was their whole magnificence: for they lay three or four in a bed; and at court the apartment they lived in, had no other furniture than large cumbersome chests. The duke of Guise, passing by Vassl on the frontiers of Champagne, happened to see some Calvinists,

Calvinists, who, under the sanction of the edict, were chanting their psalms peaceably in a barn; his servants insulted the poor wretches, killed about sixty of them, wounded and dispersed the rest. Upon this the protestants rise almost throughout the kingdom. France is divided betwixt the prince of Condé and Francis de Guise. Catharine de Medicis fluctuates between both. On every side nothing was to be seen but massacre and plunder. She was then at Paris with the king her son, and, finding herself destitute of power, she wrote to the prince of Condé to come and set her at liberty. This fatal letter implied an order to continue the civil war, which was carried on with great inhumanity: every town was become a fortress: countrymen and fellow-citizens cut one another's throats in the streets.

On one side were the Guises, who out of decency joined with the faction of the 1562. constable de Montmorenci, guardian of the king's person. On the other was the prince of Condé, with the Colignis. Antony king of Navarre, first prince of the blood, weak and irresolute, not so much as knowing what party or religion to embrace, jealous of his brother the prince of Condé, and against his will promoting the interest of the duke of Guise, whom he heartily detested, is dragged to the siege of Rouen along with Catharine de Medicis herself: at this siege he is killed, and merits a place in history merely as the father of Henry IV.

The war was carried on till the peace of Verbins, in 1598, in the same manner as in the times of anarchy, towards the decline of the second race, and the beginning of the third. They had but very few regular troops on either side, except some companies of gendarmes belonging to the chief leaders. Plunder was their only pay. The spoil collected by the protestant faction helped to bring in the Germans,

mans, and to finish the ruin of the kingdom. The king of Spain, on his side, sent some small succours to the catholics, as fuel to a fire, which he hoped would turn out to his advantage. Hence we find thirteen Spanish ensigns marching to the relief of Montluc in Saintonge. These were undoubtedly the unhappiest times of the monarchy.

The first pitched battle was that of Dreux. It was not only French against French: the 1562. Swiss formed the main body of the royal infantry, and the Germans that of the protestant army. This was a remarkable day by the taking of the two generals. Montmorenci, who, as constable, had the command of the royal army, and the prince of Condé, were both taken prisoners. Francis de Guise, the constable's lieutenant, gained the victory; and Coligni, Condé's lieutenant, saved his army. Guise was then at the highest pitch of glory, victorious whenever he fought in person; and diligent in repairing the mistakes of the constable, his rival in authority, though not in reputation. He was the idol of the catholics, and supreme lord at court; affable, generous, and, in every respect, the greatest man in the state.

After the victory obtained at Dreux, he laid siege to Orleans; and was just upon the point of 1563. taking this town, the center of the protestant faction, when he fell by the hands of an assassin. This great man was the first whom the fanatics murdered. Those very Huguenots, who, under Francis I. and Henry II, understood nothing but praying and suffering what they called martyrdom, were grown most furious enthusiasts; so that now they read the bible to find authority for assassinations. Poltrot de Merè looked upon himself as another Aod sent by the Deity to kill a Philistine chief. This is so far true, that the party made verses to his honour; and I have seen a print of him myself, with.

with an inscription extolling the deed to the sky. Yet it was a cowardly deed : for he pretended to be a deserter, and struck the duke behind his back. He had the impudence to charge the admiral de Coligni and Theodore Beza with having at least connived at the murder : but he prevaricated so greatly upon his interrogatories, that he refuted his own imposture. Coligni offered to repair to Paris, in order to be confronted with the wretch, and begged the queen would delay the execution till the truth was known. It must be allowed that the admiral, notwithstanding his being head of the party, never did the least thing that could render him suspected of so base an action.

It was not enough for Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss, to help the French to destroy one another ; the English must lend a hand to complete the general ruin. The protestants introduced three thousand of that nation into Havre de Grace, which was built by Francis I. The constable de Montmorenci, who had been exchanged for the prince of Condé, found it very difficult to drive them from thence. These troubles were succeeded by a short interval of peace. Condé was reconciled to the court ; but the admiral kept still at the head of a considerable party in the provinces.

In the mean time Charles IX, having entered upon his fourteenth year, held his bed of justice, not in the parliament of Paris, but of Rouen ; and, what is very extraordinary, his mother resigned the reins of government to him upon her knees.

At this ceremony of the king's majority there happened a very odd and unprecedented affair. Odet de Chatillon, cardinal, and bishop of Beauvais, had turned protestant, like his brother, and married. The pope struck him out of the list of cardinals ; and he himself despised the title : but,

to bid defiance to the pope, he assisted at the ceremony in a cardinal's habit; his wife sat down in the presence of the king and queen, as the lady of a peer of the realm; and she was called indifferently, *Madame la comtesse de Beauvais*, and *Madame la cardinale*.

France abounded with such irregularities. The confusion of civil broils had subverted all order and decency. Almost all the church livings were held by laymen; it was a common thing to see an abbey, or a bishoprick, given away as a portion to young ladies: but peace, the greatest of blessings, cancelled the memory of those disorders, though they were grown familiar. The protestants were tolerated: they kept upon their guard; but they were quiet. Lewis de Condé took share in the court diversions. This calm did not last long. The Huguenots demanded too many securities, and the court granted them too few. The prince of Condé wanted to have a share in the administration. The cardinal of Lorraine, at the head of his numerous and powerful family, would fain have the chief direction. The constable de Montmorency, enemy to the house of Lorraine, preserved his power at the same time that he kept the court divided. The Colignis, and the other chiefs, were preparing to oppose the house of Lorraine. Each endeavoured to usurp a share of the government. On one side the clergy, on the other side the protestant ministers, raised the cry about religion. God was their pretence; but the passion of domineering was their God; while the people, intoxicated with fanaticism, were tools and victims to the ambition of so many opposite leaders.

Lewis of Condé, who had before attempted to take the young king Francis II. out of the hands of the Guises
Ambose,

Amboise, made the like attempt upon Charles IX. at Meaux, to get him away from the constable de Montmorenci. This prince of Condé engaged in the same sort of war, and conducted it in the same and on the same pretences, religion apart, as the great Condé, named also Lewis, did afterwards, in the minority of Lewis XIV. The prince and the admiral fight the battle of S. Denis Nov. 10, 1567. against the constable, who is mortally wounded at the age of above fourscore; a man of intrepidity either at court or in the field, remarkable for great virtues and great failings, an unfortunate general, rigid in his principles, morose in his temper, and obstinate, but an honest man, and of noble sentiments. It is he that answered his confessor; *Do you imagine I have lived to the age of fourscore without knowing how to die one quarter of an hour?* His effigy in wax, like those of the kings of France, was carried to Notre Dame, and the parliament assisted at his funeral service by order of the court; an honour which depends, as almost every thing else, on the royal will and the circumstances of the times.

This battle of S. Denis proved indecisive, which added to the miseries of France. The admiral de Coligni, the man of his age the most ready in expedients, sends for ten thousand Germans from the Palatinate, without having money to pay them. Here it appeared what religious zeal can do, strengthened by the spirit of party. The admiral's army assails themselves to pay the Palatine forces. The whole kingdom is laid waste. It is not like a war, in which one prince draws all his forces against another, and is either victorious or ruined at once: here are as many belligerent powers as towns; fellow citizens, and relations, cutting one another's throats: the catholic, the protestant,

testant, the free-thinker, the priest, the burgher, none of them are safe in their beds: the lands lie fallow, or are tilled with the sword in one hand, in the other the plough. They conclude 1568. once more an involuntary peace *: but peace is only another name for war; and every day is distinguished by murders and assassinations.

The war is soon renewed. Then it was 1568. that Rochelle became the center and chief seat of the reformed party, or the Geneva of France. This city, by its advantageous situation on the border of the sea, was in some measure grown a flourishing republic: for having belonged to the kings of England after the marriage between Eleanor of Guienne and Henry III, it voluntarily submitted to Charles V, king of France, on condition that he would grant the privilege to the town of coining silver money in its own name, and that the mayor and sheriffs should be deemed nobles. Several other privileges, and an extensive commerce, had rendered it a powerful place, in which state it continued till the administration of cardinal Richelieu. It was likewise favoured by queen Elizabeth. At that time it extended its jurisdiction over Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, where was fought the famous battle of Jarnac.

The duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III, had the name of general of the king's army; but the marshal de Tavannes had the real Command; and he proved victorious. Prince Lewis of Condé was killed, or rather murdered after his defeat by Montesquieu, captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou. Coligni, who still continued to be called admiral though he was no longer such, collected

* It was concluded at Lonjumeau, and called *the little peace*, because it lasted only six months.

the remains of the discomfited army, and prevented the royalists from making any great advantage of their victory. Jane d'Albret, queen of Navarre, widow of the weak Antony, brought her son to the army, where he was acknowledged head of the party; so that Henry IV, the best of princes, was like good king Lewis XII, a rebel before he reigned. Admiral Coligni was the real chief both of the party and of the army: he acted as a father to Henry IV, and to the princes of the house of Condé. He alone supported the whole weight of this unlucky cause: he was destitute of money, but not of troops, knowing how to obtain German succours, though without ability to pay them. He was defeated once more at the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, by the duke of Anjou's army; but still he repaired the losses of his party.

Oct. 3,
1569.

At that time there was no uniform manner of fighting. The German and Swiss infantry made use of long pikes only: the French generally used arquebuses with short halberds. The German cavalry fought with pistols; and the French with the spear. The battalions and squadrons were frequently intermixed. The strongest armies did not exceed twenty thousand men; they had no money to pay more numerous forces. The battle of Moncontour was followed by a thousand skirmishes in the different provinces.

At length, after such dreadful desolations, 1570. another peace is concluded *, and France seems to begin to breathe: but it is only to prepare

P 3

for

* This peace was concluded at S. Germain in the month of August 1570, and was very advantageous to the protestants, which made their chiefs suspect some bad design.

for the massacre of S. Bartholomew. They were full two years meditating this horrid day. One can hardly conceive how such woman as Catharine de Medicis, brought up in the delicacy of a court, and least of all jealous of the Huguenot party, should enter upon so barbarous a resolution. This cruel act is still more surprizing in a king only twenty years of age. The faction of the Guises had a great share in the horrid enterprize. Two Italians, the cardinals de Birague and de Retz, disposed people's minds to it. At that time they were proud to profess the maxims of Machiavel, and especially that which says we ought not to commit crimes by halves. That we should commit no crime at all, would have been a better maxim, and sounder policy; but the manners of the nation were soured by the civil wars, notwithstanding the feasts and entertainments which Catharine de Medicis still kept up at court. This mixture of gallantry and madness, of voluptuousness and cruelty, forms the oddest picture that ever represented the contrasts of the human species. Charles IX, though no soldier, was of a sanguinary disposition; though fond of mistresses, he had a barbarous heart. He is the first king that conspired against his subjects. The plot was laid with a dissimulation equal to the atrociousness of the deed. One thing only could have raised any suspicion; the king happening to amuse himself one day with a rabbit-hunting, *Make them all come out, said he, that I may have the pleasure of killing them all.* At this time a gentleman of Coligni's party quitted Paris, and, upon taking leave of him, he said, *I am going away because they seem to be too fond of us.*

Europe but too well knoweth in what
1572. manner Charles IX. married his sister to
Henry of Navarre, to make him fall into the
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the snare; with what oaths he endeavoured to remove his apprehensions, and with what fury those barbarous massacres, which they had been meditating two years, were at length carried into execution. Father Daniel says, *That Charles IX. performed in the comedy very well; that he acted his part to admiration.* I shall not repeat what all the world knows of this abominable tragedy; one half of the nation, with the poniard and crucifix in hand, cutting the throats of the other half; the king himself firing with an arquebuse on the wretches that were saving themselves by flight. I shall only observe a few particulars: the first is, that if we believe the duke de Sully, Matthew the historian, and many others, they had often heard from Henry IVth's own mouth, that playing at hazard with the duke of Alençon and the duke of Guise, a few days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they saw spots of blood twice upon the dice; upon which they were greatly frightened, and left off playing. Father Daniel, who has picked up this story, ought to have been so well acquainted with natural philosophy, as not to be ignorant that when the black specks form a given angle with the rays of the sun, they appear red: this is what every man may experience in reading: and thus are all prodigies solved. And indeed no other prodigy was there in this whole affair, than that religious fury which changed a nation, who have since appeared so light, so gentle, into savage brutes.

Father Daniel mentions also, that when they hanged up Coligni's dead body upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, Charles IX. went to feast his eyes with the spectacle, saying, *That the body of a dead enemy always smelt sweet:* he ought to have added,

that this was an old saying of Vitellus *, which they were pleased to attribute to Charles IX. But what is more extraordinary, the said father would feign make us believe that those massacres were never premeditated. It is possible that the time, the place, the manner, and the number of the proscribed were not two years a concerting; but it is very certain that the design of exterminating the party was laid long before. The whole relation of Mezeray, a better Frenchman than father Daniel, and much his superior, even as an historian, in the last hundred years of the monarchy, leaves us no room at all to doubt of it; besides, Daniel contradicts himself by commending Charles IX. for performing well in the *comedy*, and for acting *his part* to admiration.

The manners of men, and the spirit of party, are known by the style of their historian. Daniel contents himself with saying, *That at Rome they commended the king's zeal, and the terrible punishment he had inflicted upon heretics.* Baronius says this action was necessary. The court gave orders for the same massacres throughout all the provinces as at Paris; but several of the governors refused to obey. St. Herem in Auvergne, la Guiche at Macon, viscount d'Orte at Bayonne, and several others, wrote to Charles the substance of these words; *That they were ready to die for his service, but they would assassinate no man.*

So unhappy were those times, and so strongly did fanaticism or terror possess the minds of the people, that the parliament of Paris decreed an annual procession on St. Bartholomew's day, in thanksgiving to God. The chancellor de l'Hopital

* Abhorrentes quosdam cadaverum tabem, detestabili voce confirmare ausus est: *optime olere occisum hostem, & melius civem.* Sueton. in Vitel.

tal was quite of a different opinion, when he wrote, *excidat ille dies*. The procession did not take place; they were shocked at length at the idea of consecrating the memory of what ought to have been consigned to eternal oblivion. But, in the hurry of passion, the court would have the admiral tried by the parliament after his death. Two of his friends, Briquemaut and Cavagnes, were likewise arraigned: they were drawn to the Greve on a sledge, with Coligni's effigy, and publicly executed. This was shocking to the highest degree, to add the forms of justice to such a multitude of assassinations.

Could there be any thing more deplorable than the massacre of St. Bartholomew? it was its reviving instead of putting an end to the civil war. The Calvinists throughout the kingdom thought only how dear they should sell their lives. About sixty thousand of their brethren had been massacred in time of full peace; and there remained about two millions to carry on the war. The massacre of St. Bartholomew was therefore succeeded by more assassinations on both sides. The siege of Sancerre is remarkable. Historians relate, that the protestants of this place defended themselves in the same manner as the Jews at Jerusalem against Titus: they were overpowered also like the Jews, and suffered the greatest hardships: it is even related, that a man and his wife eat their own daughter. The same is said to have happened afterwards at Paris, when that city was besieged by Henry IV.

In the midst of these calamities the duke of Anjou, who had acquired some glory 1573. by the battles of Jarnac and Moncouthour, was elected king of Poland *. This honour he

* The duke of Anjou had laid siege to Rochelle at this time where he lost the greatest part of his army.

he considered as an exile. He was invited by a people whose language he did not understand, who were looked upon at that time as barbarians, and who, though less unhappy, less fanatic, and turbulent than the French, were a great deal more unpolished. The duke of Anjou's appannage *, amounting to twelve hundred thousand livres, was worth more to him than the crown of Poland; and so poor was this northern kingdom, that in the diploma of election they stipulated as an essential condition, that the king should spend his twelve hundred thousand livres in Poland. With concern he sets out for this foreign country. Yet he had nothing to regret in France; the court was as much a prey to divisions as the rest of the state. Every day produced new conspiracies, either real or fictitious, new duels, assassinations, and imprisonments, without form of law or justice, worse than the very troubles by which they were occasioned. There was not indeed so great a number of persons of rank beheaded as in England: but there were more private murders, and they began already to be skilled in poisons.

And yet when the Polish ambassadors came to Paris to yield homage to Henry III, they were treated with a most splendid and elegant entertainment. The agreeable temper and sprightliness of the French nation, displayed itself on this occasion, notwithstanding the public calamities. Sixteen ladies, representing the sixteen principal provinces of France, after dancing a balette with machines, presented the king of Poland and the ambassadors with gold medals, on which were engraved

The Rochellers had favourable terms granted them, and a peace was concluded with the Huguenots. This was in 1573.

* Lands set apart for the maintenance of younger children of the royal family.

engraved the particular productions of each province.

Scarce was Henry III. transplanted to May 30, the throne of Poland, when Charles IX 1574. died in his five and twentieth year. He had rendered his name odious to all the world, at a time of life when the inhabitants of his capital are not yet of age. The malady he died of was very extraordinary: the blood gushed out of all his pores. This accident, of which there are some instances, was owing either to excessive fear, to violent passion, or to a warm and melancholy constitution. In the minds of the people, and especially of the protestants, it passed for an effect of the divine vengeance. An useful opinion, could it be a check to those who are so mighty, or so unhappy, as to be above the reach of the laws.

No sooner had Henry III. heard the news of his brother's death, than he made his escape out of Poland, as from a prison. He might have engaged the Poles to suffer him to divide his time between that kingdom and his hereditary dominions, after the example of several princes. But he was in a hurry to get away from a country which at that time was very hardly civilized; and to return to his native soil, where he embarked in a new sea of troubles, and met at length with as fatal a catastrophe as any that had hitherto been seen in France.

He was just withdrawn from a country whose manners were rude but simple; and where ignorance and poverty spread a gloom over life, but proved a shelter to innocence. On the contrary, the court of France was a school of luxury, intrigues, gallantry, debauch, plots, superstition, and atheism. Catharine of Medicis, niece of pope Clement VII, had introduced the exposing of all the public employments to sale, pursuant to the practice

practice of Rome. The farming of the revenues, an expedient occasionally useful, but for a constancy dangerous, was likewise an invention which she had imported from Italy. The superstition of judicial astrology, of incantations, and witchcraft, were also one of the fruits of her country transplanted into France. For though the genius of the Florentines had long since revived the polite arts, they were far from being acquainted, as yet, with sound philosophy. This princess had brought with her an astrologer, named Luke Gaucric, a man who in our days would have been no better than a mountebank, and the contempt of the populace : but at that time he was a person of great consequence. The curious still preserve some constellated rings, and talismans of those days. There is still extant that famous medal on which Catharine is represented quite naked, betwixt the constellations of Aries and Taurus, with the name of Ebulle Asmodée on her head, a dart in one hand, a heart in the other, and the name of Oxiel on the exergue.

Never was the absurd notion of witchcraft in greater credit. It was a common thing to make wax figures, and prick them to the heart, uttering at the same time unintelligible words. They imagined thus to destroy their enemies ; nor did the want of success undeceive them. Cosmo Ruggieri, a Florentine, accused of having attempted to destroy Charles IX. by such wicked means, was put to the rack. One of those sorcerers being condemned to be burnt, declared upon his examination, that there were above thirty thousand of them in France.

Those follies were joined with a thousand practices of devotion, and these blended with the most profligate debauchery. On the contrary, the protestants, piquing themselves upon their reformation, set the severity of their morals against
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the debauchery of the court, and punished adultery with death. They held plays and public spectacles in as great detestation as the ceremonies of the church of Rome: and they put the mass and witchcraft almost on the same foot. Thus there were two nations in France quite different from each other; and but little hopes of their being united, as the Huguenots, ever since the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had formed a design of erecting themselves into a republic.

The king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. and Henry prince of Condé, son of Lewis who was assassinated at Jarnac, were chiefs of the party; but they had been detained in custody at court ever since the late massacre. Charles IX. proposed to them to take their choice, either to change their religion, or to die. Princes seldom chuse the honour of martyrdom; their religion is mostly determined by interest. The two Henries of Navarre, and Condé turned catholics; but just about the time that Charles IX. died, Henry of Condé escaped out of prison, and made his abjuration of the Romish religion at Strasburg; from whence he retired to the Palatinate, where, after the example of his father, he solicited the Germans to succour the French protestants.

Henry III. upon his return to his native country, might still have restored it to its former vigour: it was rent, it was reeking with blood, but not dismembered. Pignerol, the marquise of Saluzzo, and of course the gates of Italy, still belonged to it. A tolerable administration is capable of healing, in a few years, the wounds of a kingdom that has the advantage of a fruitful soil and industrious inhabitants. Henry of Navarre was still in the power of the queen-mother, who was declared regent till the return of the new king. The protestants demanded no more than security

ty for their property and their religion : as to their scheme of erecting a republic, it could never prevail against the supreme authority, exerted with vigour, and moderation. It would have been easy to have kept them within bounds. Such had been ever the opinion of the wisest heads, of the chancellor de l'Hopital, of Paul de Foix, of Christopher de Thou, father of the exact and eloquent historian, of Pibrac, of Harlay : but the favourites expecting to gain by the war, made the court resolve upon it.

Scarce was the king arrived at Lyons, when, with the few troops they brought to meet him, he wanted to take forcible possession of towns, which, by gentle means he might have reduced to their duty. He ought to have been convinced, when he attempted to enter the little town of Livron with an armed force, that he had not taken the right measure: the inhabitants cried out from the walls, *Come on, assassins; come on, murderers; you shall not find us asleep as you did the admiral.*

As he had not money at that time to pay his troops, they disbanded. Going to be crowned at Rheims, he had great luck not to be attacked upon the road: he made his public entry at Paris, under the most gloomy auspices, and in the midst of a civil war which he had revived himself, and which he might have stifled. He neither knew how to keep the Huguenots within bounds, nor to content the catholics, nor to check his brother the duke d'Alençon, at that time duke of Anjou, nor to regulate his finances, nor to discipline an army; he would fain be absolute, and yet he took no right method to render himself such. His debauches with his minions, made him odious; his superstition, and his processions of penitents, instead of rendering him more popular, as he expected, only added

ded to his shame and disgrace ; in a word, his extravagance at a time when he should have employed his revenue in increasing his forces, weakened his authority. There was no police, no justice throughout the kingdom : his favourites were assassinated before his face ; or cut one another's throats in their quarrels. His own brother the duke of Anjou, a catholic, joined with prince Henry of Condé against him ; and sent for Swiss troops, while Condé was on his return to France with a body of Germans.

In this state of anarchy Henry duke of Guise, son of the late Francis, being now the head of the French branch of the house of Lorraine, possessed of wealth and power, esteemed like his father, idolized by the people, and dreaded at court, obliges the king to entrust him with the command of his armies. It was his interest that the confusion should be general, to the end that the court should always stand in need of his aid.

The king demands money of the city of Paris, and receives for answer that they had furnished thirty-six millions extraordinary in fifteen years, and the clergy sixty millions ; that the country is ravaged by the soldiery, the city by the rapaciousness of the financiers, and the church by simony and scandal. Thus instead of subsidies he receives nothing but complaints.

In the mean time young Henry of Navarre makes his escape from court, where he had been detained in custody. They might confine him as a prince of the blood, but they had no right over the liberty of a king ; for such he really was of the lower Navarre, and the upper belonged to him by inheritance. He retires to Guienne : the Germans, invited by Condé, enter Champagne ; and the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, is up in arms.

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The devastations which the publick had beheld under Charles IX. were beginning again. May, The king concludes with the protestants an 1576. ignominious treaty, who did not so much much as thank him; he does by force what he ought to have done voluntarily, and as an able prince, upon his accession to the crown. He grants them a great deal more than they asked at first; the free exercise of their religion, temples, synods, an equal share in the courts of parliament at Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Aix, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes. He publicly disavows the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which he was but too deeply concerned. He exempts the children of those, who lost their lives in the massacre, from all taxes for the space of six years; he reinstates the memory of admiral Coligni, and to complete his mortification, he submits to pay the German troops of Casimir prince Palatine, who forced him to this peace: but, having no money to discharge his engagement, he lets them live at discretion three months in Burgundy and Champagne. At length he sends Believre to prince Casimir with six hundred thousand crowns: Casimir detains the king's envoy as an hostage for the remainder of the payment, and takes him prisoner with him to Heidelberg, where he makes a triumphant entry with sound of trumpet, and the spoils of France in waggons drawn by oxen with gilded horns.

It was this ignominious treaty that emboldened duke Henry de Guise to form the league projected by his uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, and to raise himself upon the ruins of so unhappy and ill-administered a kingdom. On every side faction breathed her venom, and pitched upon Henry de Guise for her leader. He was said to have been possessed of all the great qualities of his father, with more art and ambition. Like his father

ther he charmed the hearts of mankind. It was said of the father and son, that, compared to them, all other princes appeared as plebeians. His admirers extol his magnanimity; but he gave no great proofs of it, in trampling upon the body of the admiral Coligni, which had been thrown, in his presence, out of the window.

The first proposal of the league was made at Paris. Papers were spread amongst the most zealous citizens, containing a project of association in defence of religion, of the king, and of the liberty of the state; that is, to oppress at once both king and state with the arms of religion. The league was afterwards solemn- 1576.
ly signed at Peronne, and almost throughout Picardy. The other provinces soon acceded to it. The king of Spain takes it under his protection, and it is authorized by the pope. The king, hard pressed betwixt the Calvinists who demanded too much indulgence, and the Leaguers who wanted to divest him of his sovereignty, thinks to perform a master-stroke of policy in signing the association, lest it should overpower him. He declares himself leader of the party, whereby he only renders them more insolent. He is obliged to break the peace which he had granted the protestants, though he has no money to renew the war. The states-general are assembled at Blois; but they refuse the necessary subsidies for a war to which they had forced their sovereign. They will not even suffer him to ruin himself by alienating the crown lands. Yet he raises an army, and 1576.
ruins himself another way, by mortgaging the revenue of the crown, and creating new offices. Hostilities are renewed on both sides, and peace is again concluded. The king had desired money and an army, only that he might have nothing further to fear from the Guises: but, as soon as the
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1577. he peace was signed, he squandered away this small resource in idle pleasures, in entertainments, and largesses to his favourites.

To govern such a kingdom without an army, and a good revenue, was a difficult task. Henry III. was distressed for both. It is curious to see what pains he took, in his most urgent necessities, to obtain thirteen hundred thousand livres of the clergy for six years, as well as to oblige the parliament to register some pecuniary edicts, and how greedily the marquis *d'O*, superintendant of the finances, devoured this short lived subsistence.

He was not master of his kingdom. The catholic and protestant confederacies waged war against each other in spite of him. Famine and contagious diseases came upon the neck of such a number of scourges : and yet he chose this calamitous time to set up his favourites against the duke of Guise, creating Joieuse and d'Epernon dukes and peers, giving them the precedency of the antient peers, and expending four millions of livres at the marriage of the duke de Joieuse to his wife's sister. New taxes, to answer his prodigal expences, excite the public indignation. If the duke of Guise had not formed a league against the king, his own conduct would have been sufficient to produce some such confederacy.

At this same time his brother, the duke of Anjou, sets out for the Netherlands, where, in the midst of no less fatal a desolation, he hunts after a princely sovereignty, which he missed by his tyrannical imprudence. Since Henry III. gave his brother leave to wrest the provinces of the Netherlands from Philip II, at the head of the Flemish malecontents; you may judge whether the king of Spain encouraged the league in France, where it was every day acquiring new strength. What remedy had the king recourse to? He instituted

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stituted confraternities of penitents, he built monkish cells at Vincennes for himself, and for the companions of his pleasures; he offered up prayers to the Deity in public, while he was offending against nature in private; he went habited in a white sack, he wore a disciplining whip, and a pair of beads at his girdle, and called himself *brother Henry*. Such behaviour raised the indignation and courage of the Leaguers. At Paris they openly preached against this mummary, this scandalous devotion. The *faction of the sixteen* * was forming under the duke of Guise, and Paris only nominally belonged to the king.

Henry de Guise, now grown master of 1585. the catholic party, had raised troops with their money, and was attacking the friends of the king of Navarre. This prince, who, like Francis I, was the bravest gentleman in his time, offered to determine the dispute by fighting against the duke either singly, or ten against ten, or with what number he pleased. He writes to his brother-in-law, Henry III. shewing that it is against him and his crown, more than against the Huguenots, that the league is levelled; he lets him see the wide-gaping precipice; and makes a tender of his fortune and life to save him.

But at this very time pope Sixtus Quintus thunders out that famous bull against the king of Navarre and prince Condé, wherein he calls them *a spurious and execrable generation of the house of Bourbon*, declaring that they have forfeited all

* The *faction of the sixteen* was a kind of particular league for Paris only, consisting of several persons, who were distributed in the sixteen wards of the town, and who had shared the administration of affairs among one another; they were staunch friends of the dukes of Guise, and sworn enemies to the king.

right of succession. The league enforces the bull, and compels the king to persecute his brother-in-law, who was ready to assist him; and to forward the designs of the duke of Guise, who was respectfully dethroning him. This is the ninth civil war since the death of Francis II.

1386. Henry IV *; (for so we must call him, since this dear, this well-known-name is now become his proper appellation) Henry IV. had to fight at one and the same time against the king of France, against Margaret his own wife, and against the league. Margaret, declaring against her husband, renewed the memory of those ancient times of barbarism, when an excommunication broke off the bands of society, and rendered princes detestable to all about them. This prince shewed himself a great man, so early in life, by setting the pope at defiance even in Rome, where he caused a formal refutation of the bull of Sixtus Quintus to be fixed up in the public streets, and by appealing from that bull to the court of peers.

He found it no difficult task to hinder his imprudent wife from seizing on the Agenois, which she wanted for herself: and in regard to the royal army that was sent against him under the command of the duke de Joyeuse, every body 1587. knows how he defeated it at Coutras, where he fought like a common soldier at the head of his troops, taking several prisoners himself and shewing as much humanity and moderation after the victory, as he had given proofs of valour during the engagement.

* This was called the war of the three Henries; viz. Henry III, Henry king of Navarre, and Henry duke of Guise. The first at the head of the Royalists, the second at the head of the Huguenots, and the third the chief of the league.

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This victory gained him more reputation than real advantage. His army was not like that of a sovereign, who pays his troops, and keeps them to their colours; it was the army of a party-leader, that had no regular pay. The officers could not hinder the soldiers from going to work in harvest time; and even they themselves were obliged to return to their estates in the country. Henry IV. has been charged with losing the fruit of this victory, by his journey to Bearn to visit the countess de Grammont, with whom he was in love *. They who talk thus do not reflect, that it would have been very easy for him, to make his army continue their operations in his absence, could he have kept them together. His cousin Henry of Condé, a prince as remarkable for the austerity of his manners, as Henry of Navarre was for gallantry, quitted the army as well as he, and went back to his country-seat, after having made some stay in Poitou: the same did all the officers, who swore they would be at the rendezvous of the troops the 20th of November. Such was the manner of waging war in those days.

But one of the most fatal events of those dreadful times, was that which befel the prince of Condé during his stay at St. John d' Angeli. He had hardly finished his supper with his wife Jan. Charlotte de la Trimouille the night of 1588. his return, when he was seized with frightful convulsions, which carried him off in two days. The chief magistrates of St. John d' Angeli, orders the princess to be taken into custody, and commences a criminal prosecution against her: then he but-

* Henault represents the matter thus: *the king of Navarre did not pursue his victory, but returned to Bearn, where he was in love with Corisande d' Andouins, the countess of Guiche.*

laws a young page named Permillac de Belle-Castel; and pronounces sentence of death against Brilaut the prince's steward, who is torn to pieces by four horses, after the sentence had been confirmed by commissaries from the king of Navarre. The princess, big with child, appeals to the court of peers, who declare her innocent, and the proceedings are burnt. Here it is not amiss to refute a vulgar error, that the princess was brought to bed of the father of the great Condé fourteen months after the death of her husband, and that the Sorbonne was consulted to know whether this was a legitimate child. Nothing is more false than this account; for it is very well ascertained, that this prince of Condé came into the world six months after the death of his father.

If Henry of Navarre defeated the army of Henry III. at the battle of Coutras; the duke of Guise, on the other hand, dispersed at the same time, an army of Germans who were marching to join the king of Navarre: and in this expedition he displayed as much conduct, as Henry IV. had given proofs of courage. The misfortune of Coutras, and the reputation of the duke of Guise, were two fresh mortifications to the king of France. The duke, in concert with all the princes of his family, presents a petition to his majesty, demanding the publication of the council of Trent, the establishment of the inquisition, with the confiscation of the estates of the Huguenots to the advantage of the chiefs of the league, cautionary towns for its defence, and the exile of such of his favourites as should be mentioned by name. Every word of this petition was an indignity. The people of Paris, and especially the sixteen, publicly insulted the king's favourites, and expressed but very little respect for his person.

Nothing

Nothing can be a plainer proof of the weakness of the administration, than a trifling affair which proved the source of this year's disasters. 1588. The king, to avert the storm which he saw gathering in Paris, forbids the duke of Guise to come near that capital. He writes two letters to him, and orders them to be delivered by two couriers. Even for this necessary expence there is no money in the treasury : the letters are put in the post ; and the duke comes to Paris, alledging, as a specious excuse, that he had not received the orders. To this was owing the day of the *barricades* *. It is needless here to repeat what so many historians have minutely related concerning this day. Who has not heard that the king quitted his capital, flying from before his subjects ; and that he assembled the second states of Blois, where he caused the duke and the cardinal his brother to be assassinated, after Dec. 23. 1588. having received the holy communion with them, and sworn by the sacred host that he would love them for ever ?

The law is a thing so sacred and venerable, that if Henry III. had only preserved the appearance of it, if, when he had the prince and the cardinal in his power at the castle of Blois, he had mixed some formality of justice with his revenge, he would

* The affair of the *barricades* happened the 12th of May. The king's troops are driven out of Paris by the rebels ; the king retires from Paris, and goes to Chartres ; and the duke of Guise remains master of the capital. Catharine of Medicis continues to negotiate, and peace is at length concluded by the edict of reunion signed at Rouen by the king. This was an ignominious treaty ; the chief view of it was to hinder the crown from devolving upon a protestant. The king assembles the states at Blois, where he determines to destroy the duke of Guise. *Henault.*

have

have saved his honour, and perhaps his life. But the murder of a hero, and a priest, rendered him odious, though not more formidable, in the eye of all the catholics.

Here I think it my duty to refute an error which occurs in several books, and especially in the present state of France that goes through so many editions. There it is said that the duke of Guise was assassinated by the gentlemen in ordinary of the king's bed-chamber: and Maimbourg the declaimer, in his history of the league, pretends that Lognac, the chief of the assassins, was first gentleman of the bed-chamber. All this is false. From the registers of the chamber of accounts, which escaped the fire, and which I have consulted, it plainly appears, that the marshal de Retz and the count de Villequier, chosen from among the gentlemen in ordinary, had the title of chief gentlemen, an employment newly created, under Henry II, in favour of the marshal de St. André. These same registers give us the names of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber in ordinary, who at that time were of the principal families of the kingdom. They succeeded, under Francis I, to the chamberlains, and these to the knights of the household. The gentlemen, known by the name of the *forty-five*, who assassinated the duke of Guise, were a company newly raised by the duke d'Epéron, and paid out of the exchequer upon this duke's order; but not one of their names is to be found among the gentlemen of the bed-chamber.

Lognac, St. Capautet, Alfrenas, Herbelade, and their comrades, were poor gentlemen of Gascony, whom d'Epéron had procured for the king, men of business, men of service, as they were called in those days. Every prince, every great lord, had some such near his person in those troublesome times. It was by means of men of
this

this stamp that the house of Guise assassinated St. Megrin, one of Henry III's favourites. These manners differed greatly from the noble madness of ancient chivalry, and from the times of a more generous barbarism, when they decided their differences in an enclosed field with equal arms.

Such is the power of opinion over mankind, that those very assassins, who had made no scruple to kill the duke of Guise like cowards, refused to embue their hands in the blood of the cardinal his brother. They were obliged to look out for four soldiers of the regiment of guards, who murdered him in the same castle with their halberds. Two days intervened betwixt the death of the two brothers; an evident proof that the king had time to disguise his actions with some colour or form of justice.

He not only neglected to make use of this necessary disguise, but he was wanting to himself in not marching immediately with his troops to Paris. In vain did he tell queen Catharine his mother, that he had concerted all his measures: he had concerted none to establish his reign, but to glut his revenge. He idled away his time at Blois in examining into the papers of the states; while Paris, Orleans, Rouen, Dijon, Lyons, Toulouse, rise up against him at the same time, all as it were with one accord. He is now considered as an assassin, and a perjurer. The pope excommunicates him. This excommunication, which, upon any other occasion, would have been despised, is formidable at this time, because it is joined to the cry of public vengeance, and seems to have the approbation of God and man. Seventy doctors assembled in Sorbonne declare him cast from the throne, and his subjects released from the oath of allegiance. The priests refuse absolution to their penitents that recognize him as king. The faction

of sixteen commit those members of parliament, who are friends of the monarchy, to the Bastile. The duke of Guise's widow appears in person to demand justice for the murder of her husband, and of her brother-in-law. The parliament at the request of the attorney-general, nominate two counsellors, Courtin and Michon, who draw up an indictment against *Henry of Valois, heretofore king of France and Poland.*

The king conducted matters so imprudently, that as yet he had no army: he sent Sanci to treat with the Swifs for soldiers; and he was so mean as to write to the duke de Mayenne, now chief of the league, to beg he would forget the affassination of his brother. He employed the pope's nuncio to speak to him. Mayenne answered the nuncio, *I never will forgive the wretch.* The letters, giving an account of this negotiation, are still extant at Rome.

At length the king is obliged to have recourse to Henry of Navarre, his conqueror, and legitimate successor, whom, from the very commencement of the league, he ought to have called to his assistance, not only as the only person interested in the support of the monarchy, but as a prince with whose open heart he was acquainted, whose soul was above the corruption of the age, and who never would have abused his right of the presumptive heir to the crown.

With the assistance of Henry of Navarre, and the efforts made by this prince's party, Tuesday the king raises an army. The two first of princes sit down before Paris. It is August needless to relate how this city was delivered by the murder of Henry III. I 1589. shall only observe, with Thuanus, that when the Dominican friar James Clement, a fanatic, incited by Burgoin, his superior, by his brethren,

thren, as well as by the spirit of the league and fortified by the sacrament, demanded audience of the king, in order to assassinate him, his majesty rejoiced, and said that his heart felt an uncommon satisfaction whenever he saw a friar. Nor shall I repeat the particulars of what was done at Paris and at Rome; with what zeal they placed the assassin's portrait on the altars, at Paris, how they fired off the guns at Rome, and pronounced his funeral oration. But we are to observe, that in the opinion of the common people this wretch was a saint, and a martyr; had delivered the people of God from a tyrannical persecutor, whom they called by no other name than that of Herod; he had offered himself to inevitable death; his superior and all whom he had consulted, had enjoined him in the name of the Almighty to commit this holy action. His bewildered mind was involved in invincible ignorance. He was inwardly persuaded that he should sacrifice himself to God, to the church, to his country; in a word, in the opinion of the theologians, he was taking flight to immortal glory, and the murdered king was damned. This is what some calvinistical divines said of Poltrot; what the catholics had said of the assassination of the prince of Orange: and I consider the spirit of the times more than the facts; for these are well known.

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END of the THIRD VOLUME.

A Chronological TABLE of sovereign
princes for the third volume of this
history, which includes the sixteenth cen-
tury.

<i>Popes.</i>		<i>Emperors of Japan.</i>	
Alexander VI.	1492	Kaifuwabara	1501
Pius III.	1503	Gonara	1527
Julius II.	1503	OOKimatz	1558
Leo X.	1513	In this reign Tai-	
Adrian VI.	1522	kofama, the crown ge-	
Clement VII.	1523	neral, stripped the em-	
Paul III.	1534	perors of their real au-	
Julius III.	1550	thority, and left them	
Marcellus II.	1555	only the outward ap-	
Paul IV.	1555	pearance. Joofei II	
Pius IV.	1559		1587
Pius V.	1563	<i>Emperors of China of the</i>	
Gregory XIII.	1572	<i>family called Mim.</i>	
Sixtus V.	1585		
Urban VII.	1590	Hiao-çum	1488
Gregory XIV.	1590	Vu çum	1506
Innocent IX.	1591	Xi çum	1522
Clement VIII.	1592	Mu çum	1567
		Xin çum, otherwise	
		<i>Vanlie</i>	1573
<i>Emperors of Germany.</i>		<i>Grand Moguls, or emperors</i>	
Maximilian I.	1493	<i>of India.</i>	
Charles V.	1519		
Ferdinand I.	1558	Babar	1493
Maximilian II.	1564	Amayum	1530
Rodolph	1576	Akebar	1552
		Jehan-Guir	1605
<i>Ottoman emperors.</i>		<i>Sopbis, or emperors of</i>	
Bajazet II.	1481	<i>Persia.</i>	
Selim I.	1512		
Soliman II.	1521	Schah Ismael I.	1499
Selim II.	1566	Schah Thamas	1525
Amurat III.	1574	Schah Ismael II.	1576
Mahomet III.	1595	Sehah Codabende	1578
Achmet	1604	Schah	

A Table of sovereign princes.

Schah Emir-Emse	1585	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	
Schah Ismael III.	1585	James IV.	1488
Schah Abas I.	1586	James V.	1513
<i>Kings of England.</i>		Mary Stuart (be- headed in 1587)	1542
Henry VII.	1485	James VI.	1568
Henry VIII.	1509	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>	
Edward VI.	1547	John	1482
Queen Mary	1553	Christian II. (de- posed)	1513
Queen Elizabeth	1558	Frederick I.	1523
<i>Kings of France.</i>		Christian III.	1534
Lewis XII.	1498	Frederick II.	1559
Francis I.	1515	Christian IV.	1588
Henry II.	1547	<i>Kings of Sweden.</i>	
Francis II.	1559	John II.	1497
Charles IX.	1560	Steno Stur II. regent	1504
Henry III.	1574	Steno Stur III. regent	1512
Henry IV.	1589	Christian II.	1520
<i>Kings of Spain.</i>		Gustavus I.	1523
Ferdinand and Isabella	1474	Eric XIV.	1560
Philip I.	1505	John III.	1568
Charles I.	1516	Sigismund I.	1594
Philip II.	1555	<i>Kings of Poland.</i>	
Philip III.	1598	John Albert	1492
<i>Kings of Portugal.</i>		Alexander	1501
Emanuel the Great	1495	Sigismund I.	1506
John III.	1521	Sigismund II.	1546
Don Sebastian	1557	Henry of France	1573
Don Henry, cardinal	1578	Stephen Battori	1575
Philip II. king of Spain	1580	Maximilian of Austria	1587
Philip III. king of Spain	1598	Sigismund III.	1587
		Czars	

A Table of sovereign princes.

Czars of Muscovy.

John Basilowitz	1450
Basil IV.	1505
John Basilowitz II.	1533
Fedor Joanowitz	1584
Boris Godenow	1597

Kings of Hungary.

Ladislaus VI or VII.	1490
Lewis II.	1515
John Zapolski	1526
John Stephen, or Sigismund	1540
Ferdinand I.	1527
Maximilian I.	1564
Rodolph	1576

Dukes of Savoy.

Philibert II.	1496
Charles III.	1504
Emanuel Philibert	1559
Charles Emanuel	1580

Doges of Venice.

Chosen the year

Leonardo Loredani	1501
Antonio Grimani	521
Andrea Gritti	1523
Pietro Lando	1539
Francesco Donati	1545
Antonio Trevisani	1553
Francesco Venieri	1554
Lorenzo Prioli	1556
Girolamo Prioli	1559
Pietro Loredani	1567
Luigi Mocenigo	1570
Sebastian Venieri	1577
Nicolao da Ponte	1578
Paschal Cicogna	1585
Marino Grimani	1595

Grand dukes of Tuscany of the house of Medicis.

Alexander	1531
Cosmo II.	1537
Francis	1574
Ferdinand	1587

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